North - South Cooperation in Higher Education

A Case Study of the NOMA Program

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Master Thesis

European Master in Higher Education

Institute for Educational Research

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UNIVERSITY OF OSLO

Autumn 2009

ABSTRACT

This study investigated North–South cooperation in higher education through a case study of the Norad's Program for Master Studies (NOMA) program. The study encompasses the role of higher education in development and how targeted donor interventions can strengthen higher education institutions to meet the needs of their societies.

The study was guided by four research objectives; to identify NOMA's rationale for initiating NOMA; to assess how NOMA strengthens higher education institutions to meet the development challenges of their societies; to identify gaps evident in the design and implementation of NOMA and lastly to identify which challenges NOMA faces in its implementation process. The study took the form of a qualitative case study of the NOMA program and focused on Africa. Data collection involved use of questionnaires and interviews among NOMA Master Program coordinators. Data was also collected through document review using documents that addressed the design and implementation of NOMA.

The findings indicate that the initiation of NOMA was guided by a need to inculcate the tenets of Norwegian development policy in Norwegian support to higher education in the South, a policy which aims at contributing to sustainable capacity building and development. NOMA offers substantial financial commitments to collaborative projects aimed at developing demand-driven Masters in the South. Several gaps are evident, such as lack of coordination with other donors and lack of engagement with the national level of the higher education system. However, it addresses gaps common in donor interventions in higher education, such as lack of research and studies on higher education to inform policy. The program has faced challenges in ensuring effective partnerships and sustainability of the program but is working on overcoming them. The study concludes that NOMA is a new model in development cooperation that offers effective partnerships and sustainable capacity building.

The study recommends that donors engage in coordination of their activities to pool resources and contribute effectively to capacity building. Moreover, they should engage national governments and avoid conditioned aid but rather support legitimate national needs of the countries involved. The study advocates that Southern stakeholders should be given a voice in such interventions to express their priorities and needs, and they should take an active role in driving the capacity building forward.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

If I have seen even a little further, it would only be because I have been standing on the shoulders of giants. I am highly indebted to many, some not mentioned here, who through their generosity, assistance, response and guidance made this study a reality.

First, I would like to acknowledge the financial support I received from the European Union which, through the Erasmus Mundus program, enabled me to pursue and successfully complete the Higher Education European Master (HEEM) program.

I would also like to thank my supervisor, Professor Peter Maassen of HEDDA and the University of Oslo (PFI) for his guidance and commentary, not only for the thesis, but throughout the whole Master program.

Moreover, I would like to express my appreciation to all the respondents during the research process and to those who enabled me gain access to pertinent documents and information.

Furthermore, I would like to thank the whole HEEM fraternity and the Universities of Oslo, Tampere and Aveiro for providing me with a conducive and supportive environment within which to pursue my studies.

Lastly, I would like to extend my sincere gratitude and appreciation to my family for all they have done to enable me to get to this moment.

All shortcomings and weaknesses within this thesis are however exclusively mine.

Joshua Amunga Eshuchi

November 2009

Oslo, Norway

Keywords: North-South cooperation, NOMA, Africa, development, higher education

DEDICATION

To those who were there.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS USED

AAU – Association of African Universities

AECID - Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional para el Desarrollo

AFD - Agence Française de Développement

AfDB – African Development Bank

AGORA – Global Online Research in Agriculture

AIDS –Acquired Immune-Deficiency Syndrome

AJOL – African Journals Online

AKNF – Africa Knowledge Networks Forum

CIDA - Canadian International Development Agency

DFID - Department for International Development

ECTS – European Credit Transfer System

GATS – Global Agreement for Trade in Services

GDP – Gross Domestic Product

GNP – Gross National Product

GTZ – Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit

HEEM – Higher Education European Masters

HEDDA – Higher Education Development Association

HEI – Higher Education Institution

HEMA – Higher Education Master in Africa

HINARI – Health Internetwork Access Research Initiative

HIV – Human Immune-deficiency Virus

ICIPE - International Centre of Insect Physiology and Ecology

ICT – Information and Communications Technology

JICA - Japan International Cooperation Agency

KEI – Knowledge Economy Index

MDG – Millennium Development Goal

NEPAD –New Partnership for African Development

NFP –Norad Fellowship Program

NOK –Norwegian Kroner

NOMA – Norad Program for Master Studies

NORAD - Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation

NUFFIC - Netherlands Universities Foundation for International Cooperation

NUFU - Nasjonalt Program for Utvikling, Forskning og Utdanning

ODA – Official Development Assistance

OECD – Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development

PHEA – Partnership for Higher Education in Africa

PERI – Program for Enhancement of Research Information

PRSP – Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper

R&D – Research and Development

SAP – Structural Adjustment Program

SIDA – Swedish International Cooperation Agency

SIU - Senter for Internasjonalisering av Utdanning

S&T – Science and Technology

TFHES – Task Force on Higher Education and Society

UHR - Norwegian Association of Higher Education Institutions

UNECA – United Nations Economic Commission for Africa

UNESCO – United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

USAID - United States Agency for International Development

US$ - United States Dollar

VET – Vocational Education and Technical Training

1. INTRODUCTION

The university must become a primary tool for Africa's development in the new century. Universities can help develop African expertise; they can enhance the analysis of African problems; strengthen domestic institutions; serve as a model environment for the practice of good governance, conflict resolution and respect for human rights, and enable African academics to play an active part in the global community of scholars. (Kofi Annan, quoted in Bloom, Canning & Chan 2006, p. 2)

1.1 BACKGROUND TO THE PROBLEM

The rationale for investment in education at all levels has been discussed at length due to the acknowledged and supposed benefits that an individual, a family and a nation can reap from education. Many theories and models have been developed to justify these investments. With the advent of the knowledge society, education becomes even more vital than ever in contributing to national development. Higher education, whose building block is knowledge, thus becomes a vital part of society (Clark 1983, p. 11).

Higher education can have a primary role in economic development within the knowledge society by performing its basic functions of producing, refining and transmitting knowledge through all productive sectors. It is acknowledged that higher education played a role in boosting economic growth and productivity of the Asian tiger economies. In 1970 the living standards in Ghana and Korea were comparable. The Gross National product (GNP) per capita was $250 and $260 respectively yet by 1998, Korea's GNP per capita was $8,600 and it was the 12th largest economy in the world. Ghana's GNP per capita in 1998 was $390 and it is still a low-income developing country. Much as other factors played a role in the increased growth, investment in higher education was also vital in boosting Korean productivity. Although there is no direct causality between higher education and development, higher education is vital in spurring national growth through provision of skilled workforce, promoting entrepreneurship and carrying out relevant research (TFHES 2000, p. 41; Bloom, Canning & Chan. 2006, p. 9).Knowledge-based competition has led to a re-imagining of higher education's role in growth and development. What was initially seen as an inefficient and elitist public good is now accepted as a contributor to a nation's increased productivity. Thus, higher education has become a vital part of national efforts to

spur development in all sectors of society (Bloom, Canning & Chan 2006, p 1; Castells 1996, p. 99).

Higher education in Sub-Saharan Africa is ailing due to lack of infrastructure, resources and poor management of national sectors. The World Bank policies of the late seventies and budget restructuring led to neglect of the previously vibrant, if elitist, African higher education sector and this led to the current crumbling state of African universities. However, donors have long continued to provide support for the universities, albeit mostly ineffectively, if the current state is to be taken as an indicator. Countries in the industrialized North have provided assistance to the university sector in the global South as a form of development cooperation. This is mostly in form of technical assistance, scholarships for students to study in the North and some forms of capital investment (Samoff & Carrol 2004, p. 88; Wohlgemuth 1999, p. 157).

In the late eighties, a new model of higher education cooperation started emerging. Instead of the old system of aid, knowledge and resources flowing from the North to recipient institutions in the South, the new model focused on sustainable cooperation between higher education institutions (HEIs) in the North and South in projects and building up to fully fledged programs. The new model promoted equality in co-operation in order to develop good and sustainable working relationships and aimed at having the new programs eventually anchored within the institutions in the South. This was seen as a better way of promoting capacity building in African higher education since it encouraged local expansion of HEIs rather than sending students abroad as was the case in the old model, a situation which promoted brain drain. Moreover, the cost of educating a student in the South is seen as being cheaper per unit cost than in the North, thus ensuring cost-efficiency. Literature on North-South research cooperation often laments the continued domination of collaborative agendas by the interests of Northern donors and scholars, and almost invariably calls for more equitable Southern engagement in agenda-setting processes. Thus, if HEIs in the South were fully involved in design and implementation as in the new model, it would enable them ensure their national and institutional priorities were taken into account. This model also encourages South-South cooperation, which is seen as helpful in ensuring cultural- or site-relevant solutions to problems can be shared within countries in the South. Other advantages of this model include quality assurance from professional and administrative points of view; national and international co-operation and co-ordination; and dissemination of information (Samoff & Carrol 2004, p. 88; Buchert 1995, p. 7; Van Audenhove 1998, p. 535).

Discourses of globalization and the knowledge society prevail in the current landscape of higher education. Globalization has become a reality in the modern world, and as societies become increasingly inter-connected, events in one society affect others. Developed nations have to deal with problems caused by poverty in developing countries, increasingly manifested in crime, illegal immigration and humanitarian crises. Thus they have an interest in fostering development in such countries. Moreover, with the increasing sophistication of post-industrial societies, knowledge is becoming the most important market commodity and universities, which have knowledge as their building block, are becoming increasingly vital to national economies. Thus, countries in the North attempt to build up capacity in HEIs in the South as a means of development assistance, since higher education is seen as essential in stimulating economic growth and fostering human development and democracy. Furthermore, markets in the North are becoming increasingly saturated, and the economies of the North are interested in opening up new markets and supply course in the South. However, this can only be achieved if the South is sufficiently developed to afford and consume the products of the North and also to provide skilled labor (Altbach 2009, p. 329; Scott 1998, p. 112; Enders & Fulton 2004).

Furthermore, higher education traverses national boundaries and is approaching a borderless state thus universities face each other as competitors and collaborators outside the bounds of the nation-state. The increasing phenomenon of North-South cooperation in higher education is could thus also be spurred on by academic capitalism in the sense that universities are actively seeking their share of the lucrative market in higher education. This new kind of approach is represented in the attempts to include higher education as a service in the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS), which is another instance of the growing influence of global actors on national and local issues. (Nokkala 2007, p. 113; Sorensen 2007, p. 124; Wohlgemuth 1999, p. 157).

The current dismal state of higher education in Africa is thus seen as being one of the contributory factors to the problems facing sub-Saharan Africa such as poverty and logic dictates that strengthening higher education would also contribute to reducing the problems. With regards to the outlined situation, this study aims to determine how higher education can contribute to development. Moreover it will explore how donors can use higher education as a form of development cooperation and the attendant issues that arise in such a process.

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Many studies have demonstrated the link between higher education and economic development. Higher education enhances economic development in various ways such as provision of human capital through its training component and knowledge through basic and applied research (Bloom, Canning & Chan 2006; Cloete et. al. 2005; World Bank 2002). Given that universities contribute to national development, they should be sufficiently funded and given academic freedom to pursue their goals as long as they remain accountable to their stakeholders and to national interests. Unfortunately, most African higher education systems have been unable to fully pursue their roles due to underfunding, state interference and institutional mismanagement. Most African countries have failed to harness the power of higher education in fostering development. Thus, African higher education systems lag behind those of other continents in almost every indicator such as participation rates, funding, quality, accreditation and even the recent Knowledge Economy Index (KEI). Universities in sub-Saharan Africa can thus play a positive role in fostering development in the region. However, this is impossible if they continue to languish in their current underfunded, ineffective and inequitable state (Bloom, Canning & Chan 2006, p. 26; World Bank 2002, p. 49).

Donors and interested parties in the North see higher education as an avenue to foster development in the region. By strengthening HEIs and capacity building in key professions, they can enable the universities provide home grown solutions to problems of poverty reduction and development while building capacity of professionals who will implement the solutions. Thus the aim of the donors is to strengthen Africa's HEIs so that they can better contribute to poverty reduction, economic growth and social development in their respective countries (Buchert 1995, Cloete et. al. 2005).

This study sought to address how capacity building programs such as NOMA (NORAD's Program for Masters Studies) can positively contribute to capacity building in HEIs in the South and enable them effectively tackle the development challenges of their respective nations. The NOMA program is a new program that aims at breaking the traditional mould of donor aid and also at ensuring sustainable development can be achieved in the South. The program aims at using higher education as a tool for development and an engine for economic growth. The program states that it aims to contribute to the strengthening of higher education in Africa through building quantitative and qualitative

capacity (staff and students) with respect to expertise on African higher education with the ultimate aim that this will enable African higher education to address regional and national development needs.

The program comes in the wake of renewed global interest in Africa after the Gleneagles summit by the G8 (Africa Action Plan) and numerous other national and global agencies. Higher education is beginning to emerge as a vital component in economic and human development. However, it is still not clear whether investment in higher education can be successful in eradicating poverty in Africa and also contributing to national economic growth. Numerous programs and projects have been started, but results are mixed and knowledge in this field is limited or not available. Furthermore, though there has been proven a link between investment in higher education and development, most donors do not explicitly acknowledge the link nor incorporate it into their investments in higher education in the South. Moreover, their motivations to invest might not be linked to the social and economic development needs of the countries.

This paper will attempt to contribute to the knowledge on the efficacy of programs that aim at capacity building in higher education in Africa in the hope of fostering socio-economic development. Thus, hopefully, this study will contribute to a better understanding of the relationship between higher education and development. This would be relevant in enabling national, regional and global donors in investing efficiently and effectively in higher education in Africa.

Does the NOMA program contribute positively to strengthening African higher education institutions thus fostering development in sub-Saharan Africa?

1.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The main purpose of this study was to investigate the role of higher education in development and how cooperation between the North and South can enable the higher education sector in Sub-Saharan Africa to achieve this linkage through strengthening HEIs in the South. To guide the investigation, the following key research questions were posed by the researcher;

- What is Norad's rationale for initiating NOMA?

  This question aims at identifying the underlying impulses that prompted Norad to establish the NOMA program. This is assessed in light of the fact that NOMA is a successor to the Norad Fellowship Program (NFP).

- How does the NOMA program strengthen sub-Saharan higher education institutions to deal with their national development challenges?

  This question aimed at a discussion of NOMA's portfolio in Africa. This would dovetail into a discussion of the relevance of NOMA's thematic areas to national needs of the countries involved. The researcher also aimed to assess the support given to HEIs in Africa by NOMA and whether this fits in with priority areas as developed by Cloete et. al. (2005). Lastly, the researcher aimed at identifying indicators of success that would be useful in evaluating the effect of NOMA.

- What gaps are evident in the design and implementation of the NOMA program?

  This question aimed at uncovering systemic and systematic gaps present in the design and implementation of the NOMA program, since these gaps might have a great influence on the success of the program. For a complete discussion of gaps, please refer to the literature review (section 2.4.1).

- What challenges does the NOMA program face in its implementation process?

  This question was aimed at investigating the implementation process of the NOMA program and what challenges were faced. The discussion revolves mostly round the issues of sustainability of the NOMA program in the long run and how partnership between HEIs in the North and South is challenging to fulfill.

1.4 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

This study hopes to explore the role of higher education in promoting social and economic development in Africa, and how donors can better contribute to achieving sustainable development through effective investments in and cooperation through higher education. North-South cooperation through investments in higher education as promoted by

the NOMA is still a relatively new phenomenon. The study would be helpful in outlining the benefits of the program to institutions and countries in the South, and assessing its contribution to capacity-building in African HEIs. Moreover, it could provide recommendations for better coordination of such programs, especially since the program is just beginning and worthwhile recommendations can be incorporated in the implementation process. Furthermore, this study attempts to identify the basic assumptions about education and development underlying donor policies and program design since this is seen by the researcher as a key step in enabling a clear understanding of the program design and promoting cooperation between the stakeholders in African higher education and the donors since clear communication of the interests and assumptions of both parties would enable dialogue and rapprochement. And given that there is usually a wide gap between formal policy declarations and actual implementation and practice, this would be helpful in establishing what went wrong where, if at all and hopefully contributing to increased efficiency and effectiveness.

1.5 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

To avoid confusion, it is important to present and define the key concepts and terms central to this study. In any given setting, there are always assumptions, concepts and principles behind whatever is said or done, thus a presentation of these is necessary to guide the researcher in the research and writing process, and also to ensure the reader will be able to appreciate what the study covers in its conceptual breadth (Knowles 1990, p. 109). A concept is an idea expressed in words or symbols. Concepts are the building blocks of social sciences and form a link between theory and empirical reality. Conceptualization is thus how social scientists express their ideas and findings to each other (Blaikie 2000, p. 130).

Higher education, also known as tertiary education, refers to the level of education provided by universities and other collegiate level institutions that award academic degrees and professional certification (Samoff & Carrol 2004, p. 73). Universities are a basic part of tertiary systems, but the diversity and differentiation within such systems form a network of institutions that support the production of the higher-order capacity necessary for development In this study, the researcher focuses on universities, thus higher education is used in a sense limited to universities.

The North refers to developed countries which are the wealthy and technologically advanced nations of the world. This is in contrast to the global South, which refers to developing countries. The term developed country describes countries with a high level of per capita income and human development. These are mostly countries where the tertiary and quaternary sectors of the economy are developed, sectors of the economy where the knowledge society is most visibly expressed through infusion of knowledge into the productivity process. In comparison, a developing country has low standards of industrialization, democracy and human development. Furthermore, the industry is mostly based on primary and secondary sectors of the economy (King 1999).

Africa is used in this study to refer to sub-Saharan Africa. The terms "Africa" and "sub-Saharan Africa" are used interchangeably throughout the study. Although the NOMA program involves countries in both Africa and Asia, this study focuses solely on the Master programs in Africa. This was felt necessary due to the diversity between Africa and Asia, especially with regards to colonial history, economic backgrounds and culture. Most importantly, the researcher felt that the higher education systems in Africa exhibit certain similarities that make them an ideal study focus, whereas there is great diversity between African and Asian higher education systems and this would affect the generalizability of the results.

Development aid or development cooperation refers to external financial or technical support given to developing countries by developed countries and is aimed at alleviating poverty and raising quality of life in the recipient countries. It is distinguishable from humanitarian aid, which is aimed at alleviating short term suffering mostly arising from catastrophes, war and other emergency situations. The term development cooperation implies that a partnership exists between the donor and recipient countries and is a relatively recent innovation, meant to distance aid form the traditional view where the developed country dominated the relationship given its wealth and specialized knowledge. Most aid is given by governments, with only about 15 per cent deriving from private charitable sources. In higher education, development cooperation is mostly termed as capacity building. The funding also comes attached with ideas, values, expectations and conditions that modify the relationship between recipient and donor and has an impact on the progression of the external support (Samoff & Carrol 2004, p. 73).

North- South cooperation, as used in this study, refers to cooperation between HEIs in the North and South, with some form of government or third-party involvement, aimed at capacity building in developing and transitional countries. South-South cooperation in turn refers to cooperation between HEIs in the South, either independently or as part of North-South cooperation framework (King 1999, p. 16).

Capacity building is a contentious term that has been variously defined. It is concerned with increasing the ability of aid recipient countries to sustainably manage their own affairs in the future without intervention from donor countries. The United Nations Development Program (UNDP 2009, p. 2) defines capacity building as;

"*the creation of an enabling environment with appropriate policy and legal frameworks, institutional development, including community participation, human resources development and strengthening of managerial systems…Capacity building is long-term."*

In higher education, capacity building thus refers to enabling HEIs to actively engage with society and provide solutions to society's needs. This involves everything from investments in material and equipment, training for effective leadership, engagement with state control to provision of academic programs (UNDP 2009, p. 2).

1.6 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

Limitations are an inherent feature of any research project. First, the exploratory nature of this study resulted in a questionnaire that was comprehensive but unduly long and it was cumbersome for the NOMA course coordinators to answer in great detail. This possibly had an impact on the response rate and certainly affected the quality of the information obtained and also thus limited the researcher's ability to identify convergent and divergent patterns and trends. The researcher visited a three course coordinators to conduct exhaustive interviews that were expected to have a mitigating influence on this limitation.

The researcher also faced a dilemma in that some respondents were reluctant to give information on some topics that they felt to be controversial or divergent from the position of the donors. However the researcher, taking into account his aim to collect data that was truthful, attempted as much as possible to obtain their views and opinions since they would be helpful in obtaining a true picture of the situation the researcher was observing.

The researcher wished to conduct interviews with all the respondents. The researcher was interested in obtaining personal views and elaborations, and questionnaires were not so suitable to the task. However, personal interviews with all the respondents were impossible, since they were widely dispersed in many different countries across the continent and visiting all of them would involve high financial cost and almost impossible logistics. Thus the researcher was limited to interviewing only three respondents and sending out questionnaires by email to the rest.

Moreover, the research design in this study, which was an in-depth case study of a single donor program in African higher education, does not lend the results to easy generalization since it is based on a unique case. The study was confined to course coordinators of the NOMA Masters programs running in Sub-Saharan Africa. It covered the sub-Saharan Africa region only. Thus, the extent to which this study can be generalized will be left to each individual reader and each individual context.

1.7 STRUCTURE OF THE STUDY

This thesis comprises of five chapters. The first chapter has presented background to the problem, statement of the problem, research objectives followed by research questions and significance of the study. The conceptual framework is also presented in this chapter with the variables being investigated organized diagrammatically for easier grasp. Concepts that are pertinent to understanding this study are presented in this section.

Chapter two presents a review of literature related to the issue being studied. This is the fruit of the preliminary search for information and also the theoretical background that informs this study. The first section discusses higher education in Africa, from its colonial heritage to its present state, and then proceeds to outline recent evaluations of the role of higher education in fostering development in Africa, since this is the stated basis of capacity building programs initiated by donors. The discussion then advances to the paradigmatic shift by donors from traditional approaches to new models of capacity building in the field of higher education. The third section discusses higher education in the context of development cooperation between partners in the North and South. The last section closes the discussion with a few insights into the gaps and challenges of employing higher education as a form of development cooperation.

Chapter three presents the methodology applied in the research process. The chapter includes the research design, population and sampling, issues of validity and reliability, data collection methods and techniques, data analysis strategy and ethical issues in this research.

Chapter four covers the data presentation, analysis, interpretation, and discussion of research findings. Data obtained from interviews, questionnaires, and document review has been organized in sections with regard to the research questions.

Chapter five presents a summary, the researcher's conclusion and recommendations.

The thesis also contains a reference list which lists the primary literature used in the documentary review process and also other general literature referred to within the thesis.

Lastly, the thesis contains appendices of all documents pertinent to gaining an understanding of the research process, ethical issues and data collection.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter discusses the literature that the researcher has reviewed related to North-South cooperation in higher education. The review is conceptualized under the objectives of the study and is meant to demonstrate an understanding of the issues to be discussed and researched upon. Moreover, it also reflects the research previously carried out in the area under discussion and will provide a theoretical background for analysis and conclusions regarding the findings of this study.

2.1 HIGHER EDUCATION IN AFRICA

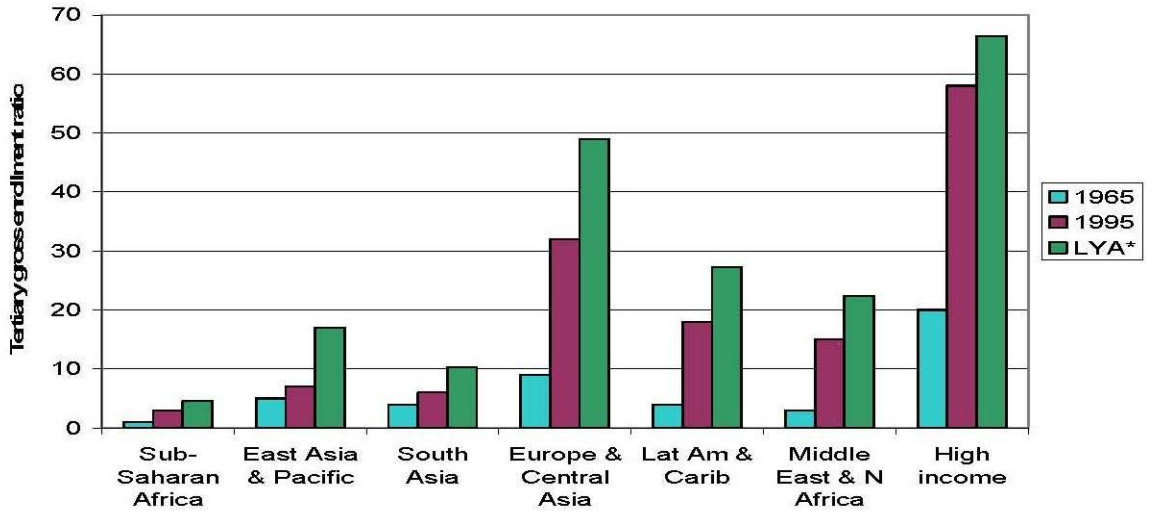
2.1.1 Overview of Higher Education in Africa

The history of African higher education can be traced back to the 2nd century B.C to the Alexandria library and Museum. University of Karawiyyin (859 AD) and Al-Azhar (969 AD) were among the first universities in the world and hosted leading scholars of the ancient world such as Ibn Khaldoun (1382-1421 AD). These universities were indigenous and responsive to the needs of their societies. In the colonial era, exploration, slave trade and missionary activities brought Europeans to Africa. Later on, they introduced Western education systems, which were mostly used by missionaries for spreading the gospel. Colonial powers were reluctant to give Africans education, but pressure from lack of junior staff led them to establish schools for their training and gradually they introduced some form of higher education towards the end of the colonial era. The first western based higher education institutions were established such as Fourah Bay College in Freetown (1876), Gordon Memorial College in Khartoum (1898), and Makerere Government College in Kampala (1921) among others. The colleges were run by Western staff and were linked to metropolitan universities of the colonial powers. By 1960, sub-Saharan Africa had only twenty three universities and most independent countries did not have any universities. The universities were mostly dependent on Western universities and had little relevance to the African societies (Samoff & Carrol 2004).

After independence the inadequacy of colonial universities became obvious and the countries set about developing autonomous degree-granting universities. However, this

autonomy did not extend to educational curriculum and policy and the universities were mostly replications of the Western universities upon which they were modeled. Furthermore the universities pursued the liberal Anglo-Saxon model and did not aim at training for technical skills. By 1980 Africa had 100 universities and had seen increased participation, though still at marginal levels. In the post-independence era up to 2000, higher education in Africa exploded due to greater access to secondary education, population growth and policy efforts to increase enrolment. However, the sector faced a lot of challenges due to rising numbers of students but lack of a corresponding growth in funding. In fact, most governments which were heavily dependent on donors cut back on funding for higher education at the behest of the World Bank's structural adjustment programs (SAPs). Furthermore there was greater emphasis on primary education at the expense of higher education since higher education was seen as having low rates of returns. There was a general consensus that if any higher level skills were needed, it would be easier to provide scholarships and fellowships to train students abroad. The World Bank influence has led to the absence of higher education in poverty reduction strategies of most African countries and furthermore encouraged African governments to neglect higher education, a chance which they welcomed since university staff and students proved to be critical of the democratic and human rights credentials of their governments. This reduced the ability of universities to teach relevant programs and maintain quality (Afolayan 2007).

Higher education in Africa is thus in a sorry state compared to other systems in the world. The enrolment rate in sub-Saharan Africa is currently in the same range as that of other regions forty years ago and gender disparity in enrolment is very wide. The gross enrolment ratio of students in sub-Saharan Africa in the age cohort of 18-23 is less than 5 per cent, the lowest in the world whereas most developed countries average over 50 per cent. Though this is an improvement on a 1 per cent enrolment rate in 1965, it is dwarfed by rapid growth of enrolment in other regions such as Asia. There is currently great pressure on universities in Africa to absorb more students, especially with the increasing successes in expanding primary and secondary education. Given the decrease in public funding or higher education, private universities and borderless higher education is expected to pick up the slack. Higher education institutions in Africa are currently expected to address many lingering and new problems such as equity, relevance, access and the impact of HIV/AIDS on the academic community and society and this further places great strain on their abilities (Bloom, Canning & Chan 2006, p. 5; TFHES 2000).



* LYA (latest year available) means that for each country, the most recent data available are used, and those data are then aggregated by region. For most countries LYA is 2002/2003. The range is 1998/1999 to 2003/2004.
Source: UNESCO and World Bank. See explanatory footnote in previous paragraph.

Fig. 2.1: Gross enrolment ratios comparison (Bloom, Canning & Chan 2006, p. 5)

Academic research in Africa is also far below the output of other countries. In 1995, the region published only 5,839 academic papers, compared to 15,995 in South Asia and 14,426 in Latin America and the Caribbean. Only the Middle East and North Africa had a lower figure. Thus it is clear that African universities are not engaged in meaningful research, as situation which is created due to lack of a clear mission for higher education but also lack of sufficient funding and staff to pursue meaningful research (Bloom, Canning & Chan 2006, p. 6; TFHES 2000).

The underfunding of higher education, in tandem with massification is causing even more strain on facilities, resources and staff. This further lowers quality of teaching and learning and further distances universities form their mission of contributing o development. Thus African higher education is not only scarce, but also of low quality and irrelevant to societal needs. The low quality is reflected in the fact that very few African universities appear at the top of international rankings of universities such as the Shanghai Jiaotong rankings, where the top African university was number 253. Problems of quality and lack of resources are being compounded by the changing landscaped of higher education today driven by globalization, the knowledge economy and borderless higher education. Responding to these while upholding quality is what will determine whether African universities will be able to maintain their mission in the face of challenges. Universities can play a vital function in rising up to the challenges of the knowledge society but this depends

upon them first rising above the challenges that plague African higher education systems (TFHES 2000, p. 36; World Bank 2002, p. 45).

2.1.2 Role of Higher Education in African Society

Clark (1983) defines four values that encompass higher education's role in a given society. These values represent the demands that society places upon its higher education system. The four values are social justice, competence, liberty and loyalty. These demands are mostly conflicting and a certain measure of accommodation has to occur for the systems to function effectively (Clark 1983, p. 251). In Africa, the roles have always collided since the Western model of higher education was introduced by colonialism. However, there was rarely room for accommodation for these differing values and this has left. African higher education is mired in quagmire of misplaced priorities and systems skewed to certain values at the expense of others.

Castells (2001) identifies four functions for a university. First, they are ideological apparatus within a plurality of ideological manifestations. This role means that universities reflect and even amplify the ideological struggles in society (Castells 2001, p. 206). Universities also act as mechanisms for the selection of dominant elites in society. This involves the socialization of the elites, formation of cohesive networks and establishment of distinctions between them and the rest of the plebeians. Universities played a vital role on eroding family heritage as the legitimate source of social power and created new elite during the industrial revolution. (Castells 2001, p. 207). Recruitment of social elites for the colonial administration and later for political elites during independence was the fundamental function of universities in Africa. Due to the instability of political regimes, this function, together with the ideological function, has always been dominant to the exclusion of the educational and economic functions of the university (Castells 2001, p. 207).

The knowledge university came later and was spurred by the scientific revolution and leading German universities of the nineteenth century and spread on to the United States and this was what John Hopkins University was modeled upon. Generation, dissemination and application of knowledge became a function of the university. This model is exemplified in the Silicon Valley science-oriented American universities. In Europe, the model remained one of separation of teaching and research, with the exception of the German Humboldtian model. However, this changed later with influence from America. In Japan, research is

mostly carried out by private firms with government funding. However, this remains an "elitist" function, with only few universities classified as research universities (Castells 2001, p. 208). The fourth function of the university is one of professional training. During the industrial revolution, universities needed to contribute to human capital formation of a highly-skilled labor force. This professional training was most successful when the university was closely linked to the economy. Furthermore this led to a blurring of the line between the knowledge function and the training function, since the university's production of knowledge was linked to disseminating knowledge into the economy to increase productivity through knowledge workers (Castells 2001, p. 209).

Faced with the need to use education for development in a globalised knowledge economy, African universities are now called upon to focus on their educational and knowledge generation roles. The need to train a skilled labor force has led to expansion of higher education, though enrolment is still low compared to other regions. Growth of middle classes has also ensured greater demand for access, since parents want their children to have the best education. However, expansion has been in traditional areas (education, law, humanities) to fulfill administrative requirements and mostly because such courses are cheap to run, an attractive proposition given the diminished funding available. This is at the expense of growth in science and technology training, which is essential for developing the knowledge function of the university. Thus, universities are still unable to produce enough human capital in science and technology to help in the development of the production process through infusion of knowledge and information technology (Castells 2001, p. 209). These four functions have been the main functions of universities over time. Managing these contradictory functions successfully is key to a successful system (Castells 2001, p. 210).

Since inception of the colonial university in Africa and its transformation into the independence university, they have always seen their role as threefold; to teach, do research, and serve society. These have remained the main missions of universities, and other tertiary institutions even up to the twenty first century. Teaching has mostly been in the form of residential, face-to-face lectures to students within the age cohort of 18 to 24 years old. Research has been primarily funded by the state and viewed through the Humboldtian lens of a quest for discovery and explanation that aims at expanding the frontiers of disciplinary knowledge. Service to society has mostly been a token notion, and sometimes offered as pro-bono services to the surrounding community by students and academics. The university saw

itself as an ivory tower, separated from the cacophony of normal society and priding itself in being above the fray. Even the function of training professionals for society was mostly ignored and no effort was made to correlate output with the labor market (Afolayan 2007).

The growth of the global competitive knowledge-based economy has caught most African universities on the wrong foot. As the primacy of knowledge as a factor in the productivity of national economy grows, the traditional understandings of the roles of higher education are being reshaped. Fast expansion and outdating of knowledge lowers the "shelf-life" of knowledge, and requires constant research and networking to keep up to date. This creates new functions and challenges for universities. Lifelong learning is fast becoming a necessity in certain fields and thus changing the traditional definition of a student. Moreover, the widening availability of information and knowledge through diverse platforms means the traditional face-to-face lecture model is outdated and universities need to adopt new ways of teaching and learning or them to survive. Research is also taking on a new dimension, with applied research becoming more and more important, and adopting Mode 2 characteristics (Gibbons 1998). Moreover, it is conducted within networked national innovation systems where the state becomes merely a facilitator of funding and market, industry and society needs become the driving force. Massification of higher education, leading to greater enrolment rates and rising costs of provision have led to intense pressure for cost-cutting in form of lower-cost delivery systems, institutional income generation, and institutional accountability in terms of its direct contribution to national economic and social development thus reshaping the role of the university and demanding a greater engagement with society, the labor market and industry. Service to society is being recast as a mission in which professional and technical training, problem solving and knowledge transfer to the production process become the reconstructed definition of service (Afolayan 2007).

In the process, the tertiary institution takes on a new service role as a "knowledge processor". However, the universities are expected to be more efficient, since there is more competition in this field, from universities abroad due to the increasing pace of borderless higher education, but also from challengers outside the higher education fraternity who are keen to take part in the profitable business of research and consultancy. Thus, boosting economic growth and human development is increasingly dependent upon its capacity to produce flexible skilled workers who can apply knowledge to the production process and thus boost economic growth, which will in turn widen societal welfare. Sub-Saharan African

universities have failed in this role. It is obvious that universities have certain basic functions in African society. First they need to meet Africa's human resource needs. Secondly, they should contribute to the development of relevant knowledge and technology. And thirdly they should provide social, economic and political opportunities for disadvantaged populations including women and minorities. Meeting these needs will enable universities to become more fully engaged in Africa's development (Afolayan 2007).

2.2 HIGHER EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT

Donor interventions in African higher education are based upon the role higher education is expected to play in fostering development in the South. Wide consensus has emerged regarding the critical role of education in achieving sustainable development. Education for sustainable development is also of key importance to support development and capacity building in other sectors of society such as public administration, the private sector and the economy.

Higher education has historically been excluded from development initiatives. The reason or this is mostly due to the scarcity of empirical evidence that it positively affects economic growth and contributes to poverty reduction. Milton Friedman and Gary Becker used the human capital theory to determine the benefits that education bestows upon individuals and society. Friedman determined, according to his evidence that higher education had limited, if any, social benefits and most of its benefits were accrued by the individual (Bloom, Canning & Chan 2006, p. 3).

Recent evidence has however shown that higher education is both a result and a determinant of income. Apart from the benefits accrued by the individual, higher education may create greater tax revenue, increase savings and investment, and lead to a more entrepreneurial society. Higher education can also play a role in improving a nation's health, contribute towards reduced population growth, improve adaptation of technology in production and social life, and promote good governance and a strong civil society. In terms of economic contribution, several countries have their successful economic growth attributed to investment in higher education such as Korea, India, Malaysia, and China. This is especially true of countries which have focused on technical and research based higher education (Bloom, Canning & Chan 2006, p 3; Lin 2004, p. 1; World Bank 2002, p. 23).

Cloete et. al. (2005, p. 6) identifies three schools of thought towards higher education with regards to its role in development. The first position sees higher education as a **"luxury ancillary**". This perspective views higher education as an important sector within the education system that each state should have but as a luxury to be availed only when affordable, due to its low rates of return compared to primary and secondary education which are seen as providing more direct engagement with poverty reduction and boosting social development (World Bank 2002, p. 24). This position has a lot of favor not only among bilateral and multilateral donors but also among many African governments which have cut budgetary support and funding to higher education sectors drastically over the past years. Moreover, the increased emphasis on primary education due to the Education for All initiative also gives competition to higher education for financial support. The World Bank itself also decreased its budgetary support to higher education from 17 per cent in 1985-89, to 7 per cent by 1995-99 (Bloom, Canning & Chan 2006, p. 11).

The second position views it as being '**a producer of appropriately skilled professionals and applied knowledge'**. Higher education is seen as an institution that produces skilled workers, but not as having a value-added effect to the economy of a country. (Cloete et. al. 2005, p. 6). Thus, vocational and technical education is touted as the key driver that higher education contributes to development. This is seen as being truer given that Africa lacks a solid science and technology base. This position envisages tertiary education as providing technical staff that would be vital in implementing appropriate technology in food production and basic industry (Sachs 2005, p. 34).

The third position sees higher education as an "**engine of development in the new knowledge economy**" (Castells 1993, p. 72; Cloete et. al. 2005, p. 6; Altbach 1998, p. 215). This position rises out of the development of a globalised knowledge economy, where the modes of economic production are increasingly dependent on knowledge and information technology as a means to boost productivity and spur economic growth. In this scenario, knowledge and information processing has become central to increasing national productivity and thus spurring economic and social development. The Knowledge Economy Index shows that the knowledge sector adds more value than the business process to a product and thus posits that with the supremacy of knowledge as the "electricity' of the new economy, then higher education institutions would be in an ideal position to be the 'power sources' that drive development (Castells 1993, p. 73; Cloete et. al. 2005, p. 7).

Previously, most major donors and think tanks had dismissed the linkage of higher education to development as being minimal and this is succinctly reflected in most World

Bank documents before the late 1990s. This was mostly based on the calculation that primary education had higher rates of return than higher educational and was thus a better choice of investment in terms of promoting development (Banya & Elu 2001, p. 16). However, recent studies have shown this linkage to be much more striking than previously accepted. These studies include a series of World Bank studies on the relationship between higher education and development.

The World Development Report issued by the World Bank in 1999, titled **Knowledge for Development,** exhaustively followed the linkage between knowledge and development and concluded that there was a positive correlation between education in mathematics, science and engineering and improved economic development. This report asserted that the private rates of return from tertiary education were about 20%, similar to secondary education. Thus, this provides a clear case for supporting higher education in Africa as a key to economic growth. This is more so given that most knowledge production in Africa is confined to universities (World Bank 1999, p. 40).

The Task Force on Higher Education and Society, a joint venture between the World Bank and UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) that was convened to explore the future of higher education in developing countries, published a report in 2000 titled **Higher Education in Developing Countries: Peril or Promise.** This report investigated the roles of higher education in society and the contract implicit in such a relationship. The report sees higher education as an absolute and irreducible prerequisite to developing a strong science and technology base which is vital to development. It deplores the fact that most developing countries lack well-qualified capacity in science and technology (teachers and researchers), particularly in Africa which has a limited quantity of individuals who can create and drive a science-oriented culture. The scientific gap between developed and developing countries is very large and growing. On a *per capita* basis developed countries have ten times as many research and development scientists and technicians as developing countries. They have a much larger proportion of their populations studying science and technology at tertiary levels, mostly due to substantially higher enrolment rates but also due to the availability of infrastructure and generous funding. Given that developing countries already have so few scientists, the report underscores the effect of brain drain on the higher education systems. Thus, it advocates that developing countries should systematically nurture and retain their science and technology talent (TFHES 2000, p. 69). It concludes that higher education is critical to development and that those developing nations which do not promote quality and increased access in their higher

education systems would fail to develop. Thus, it is explicit that developing countries need more and better higher education, especially in science and technology, to enable them integrate into and benefit from the global knowledge-based economy.

In 2002, the World Bank issued a report titled **Constructing Knowledge Societies: New Challenges for Tertiary Education.** This report again tackled the role of higher education in development and emphasized the role of tertiary education in building the human capital necessary for development. It discusses the role higher education can have in building developing countries' capacity to integrate into a knowledge-based world economy and gives policy options that will promote economic development. In a break with World Bank tradition, it confirms a shift in the World Bank's attitude to education support as a driver of socioeconomic growth and advocates for an increase of state and donor funding to higher education. Given the growth of knowledge as a critical factor in raising productivity and spurring economic growth, the report urges developing countries to develop capacity in higher education to achieve abilities to participate in the knowledge society successfully since universities are essential in creating and transmitting knowledge for use in the production process. Furthermore the report advocates for increased donor funding for national governments and their higher education systems to drive towards the goal of creating knowledge societies in developing countries. It proposes that developing countries should assign up to 20% of the country's total education budget to funding higher education. More importantly, it cast aspersions as to the validity of using rates of return as a basis for calculating which levels of education to fund at what amount. It was an implicit concession that higher education had public benefits that could spur not only economic development but also social cohesion and democracy within a country. Higher education is directly linked to social welfare. Quality higher education benefits both the recipient (private benefits) and the society in which the individual lives (public benefits). Public benefits include formation of human capital for the economy and other social benefits associated with higher education such as better health due to knowledge and increased civil participation thus leading to good governance. Higher education also promotes increased consumption due to projected higher income, thus leading to market growth within the society (World Bank 2002, p. 34; Bloom, Hartley & Rosovsky 2006, p. 297). The report concludes that developing countries risk marginalization in the knowledge economy due to the weaknesses and lack of relevance of their higher education systems.

In 2005, the Association of Commonwealth Universities published a paper titled **African Higher Education Development and the International Community**. The paper outlines the commitments and activities of major donors in efforts to develop African higher education. The paper focuses mostly on G8 countries and their activities within the period of 2000 to 2004, though it also reviews efforts by Scandinavian and Benelux countries. The report analyses donor activities in Africa by topic (ranging from HIV/AIDS to human resource development) and region and highlights trends in donor approaches towards capacity building in African higher education. The report argues that there is an imperative need for donors to support higher education, especially in science and technology, as it is a crucial driver of socio-economic development. The report finds fault with aid delivery by donors given the proliferation of priorities dictated by narrow donor interests rather than the needs of the countries being assisted and it calls for priorities of recipient higher education systems to be taken into account in designing better aid delivery mechanisms. It suggests increased communication and coordination between donor strategies as there is very little of that presently, with a few exceptions such as the Partnership for Higher Education in Africa (PHEA). The report sees networking and collaboration among higher education institutions in Africa as key to driving sharing of knowledge that is local-oriented and thus better suited to solving local challenges and cites the Africa-wide ICIPE-led research project into insect-borne diseases and its graduate program. Moreover, such collaboration would be vital in sharing experience over what works and what doesn't in the process of building capacity in African higher education.

In 2006, three Harvard University researchers (David Bloom, David Canning and Kevin Chan) produced a report for the World Bank titled **Higher Education and Economic Development in Africa.** The report cited a number of studies and produced a summary of their results to statistically prove that higher education enhances economic development. Bloom traces African higher education from the neglect of the seventies and eighties to renewed interest in it by donors in the nineties as a means of boosting economic growth in Africa and reducing poverty. The study reviews current evidence about the impact of higher education on economic growth and poverty mitigation. The paper challenges the long-standing belief about the lack of relevance of higher education to poverty reduction and development, a belief mostly propagated by the World Bank and the concept of rates of return. They review the evidence that shows higher education can have both private and public benefits. The study also explores the role higher education can have in fostering

'technological catch-up". In a knowledge economy, quality higher education producing graduates versed in technology can enable developing countries to catch up with developed societies. This is because the graduates would be conversant with the technology and thus able to apply it while teaching their less-conversant workmates and also developing their own technology. Quality tertiary education can enable nations to leapfrog into advanced stages of development if the nation's human capital has the ability to access vital information from elsewhere by exploiting the benefits of the digital revolution.

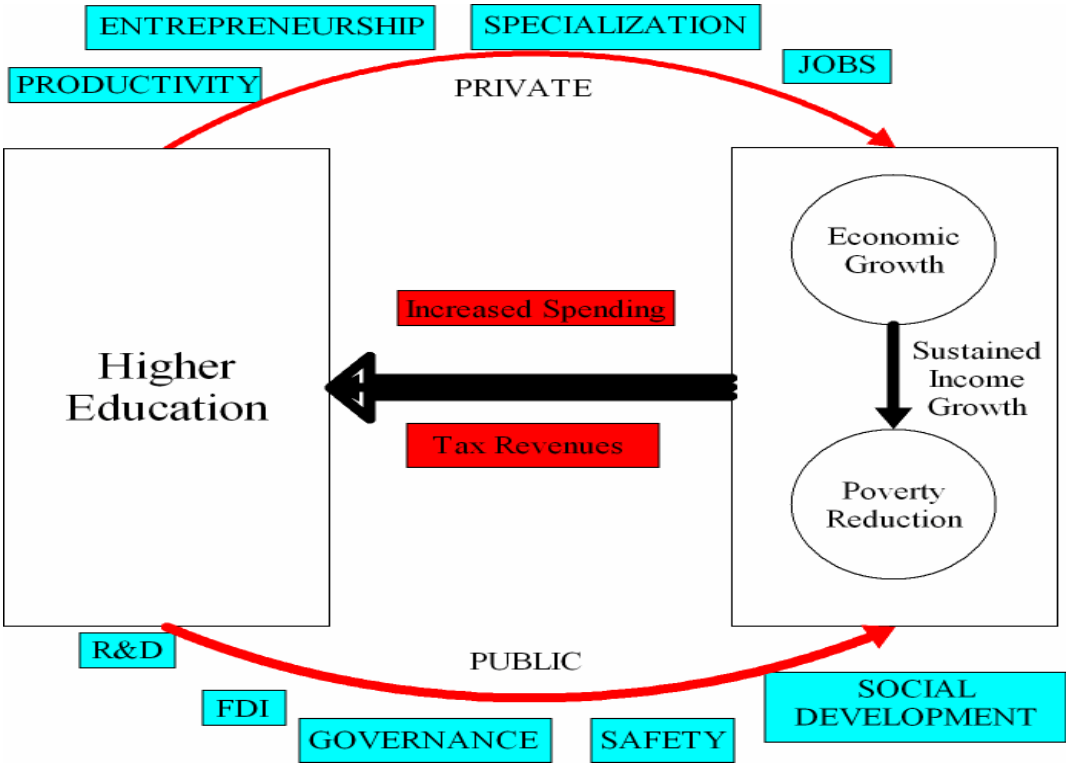


Fig 2.2: Conceptual framework for higher education's role in development (Bloom, Canning & Chan 2006, p. 17).

The only catch is that donors need to provide enough funding to provide the necessary infrastructure that is sorely needed in Africa. Such infrastructure would include physical facilities in universities, research networking and access to knowledge resources such as peer-reviewed journals. Thus, higher education can promote fast technological catch-up and radically alter a country's ability to boost its productivity and competitiveness in the global knowledge economy. This would in turn maximize economic growth and widen social welfare through all sectors of the society due to availability of resources. Furthermore, investment in higher education speeds up technological diffusion enabling African countries to integrate technological help in solving challenges in all aspects of society, from

agriculture, mining and health to education and thus improve the quality of life in their countries. In conclusion, the report issued recommendations regarding higher education and development and asked African nations and donors to invest more on higher education to promote economic growth.

In 2007 Jos Walenkamp and Ad Boeren from the Netherlands Organization for International Cooperation in Higher Education (NUFFIC) published an opinion article titled **What Donors Should Do**. The article discusses the need for donors to support higher education in developing countries since higher education and research can reduce poverty by generating human skills, knowledge in general and appropriate technology. Africa needs one million more engineers to develop infrastructure and 1.5 million health workers to meet the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) by 2015. They also argue that it increases a country's aid-absorption capacity since without additional local human resources to draft and enforce development policies, additional funds for official development assistance may become counterproductive as they will end up being spent merely on drafting expatriates. The authors assert that the risk of brain drain should not be used as an excuse to neglect such a vital sector, but that rather donors should focus on measures to stem the drain. The article also highlights the fact that despite much rhetoric, the role of higher education is hardly taken seriously, given that most donors do not significantly factor it into development aid and that recipient countries are even worse, with only three out of 31 reviewed having it as part of their poverty reduction strategy. The article concludes that, given the importance of higher education to achieving the MDGs, governments and donors should be take higher education more seriously by untying conditional aid, coordinating efforts and ensuring Southern ownership of projects.

In 2008, Center for Global Development researchers Devesh Kapur and Megan Crowley published a paper titled **Beyond the ABCs of Higher Education and Developing Countries**. The paper examines various aspects of higher education in developing countries and their impact on economic development. The paper discusses the various challenges faced by higher education in developing countries, focusing mostly on China, India and sub-Saharan Africa. These challenges include growing demand for higher education in the face of limited resources, brain drain, equity and access, regulation, accreditation, governance problems and globalization. The factors contributing to these challenges are analyzed, and the report then provides an outline of how they affect the impact of higher education on

economic development. The report then discusses the role that the international community of bilateral and multilateral donors such as the World Bank can play in providing support to higher education in the developing world. In conclusion, the report calls for more research on the impact of higher education in developing countries, given that scant data exists and that it is impossible to tell from existing literature whether donor assistance works.

In 2009, the World Bank published a report titled **Accelerating Catch-Up: Tertiary Education for Growth in Sub-Saharan Africa**. The report, based on various regional case studies and World Bank experience, discusses higher education in Africa and explores ways in which it can stimulate economic growth in the region by acting as a means to catch-up with the globalised knowledge economy. The report argues that countries in Africa should invest urgently in higher education (which provides knowledge and human capital) to enable the countries develop a viable industrial system that promotes economic growth. Increased economic growth is seen as a means of giving the countries resources to tackled development challenges such as poverty, disease, population growth, climate change and social inequalities. The report discusses the driving forces for a need to invest in human capital, namely the increasing demand for higher level skills across Africa for engagement with the knowledge economy. This thus gives higher education a mission in the context of promoting economic growth and widening social welfare. The report also reviews current practices in Africa in as far as investment and development of higher education is concerned. It particularly focuses on the development of national innovation systems which can be used as a tool to catch-up with the globalised knowledge economy through raising the competitiveness of the national economy. Institutions that generate and transmit skills and knowledge are essential components of a national innovation system which is a fusion of institutional capacities, coordination mechanisms, networking, and policy incentives that foster innovation-led approaches to boosting economic productivity (World Bank 2009, p. 69). In most African countries, knowledge generation and transmission is mostly limited to higher education, as there are few structures outside than can sustain high-end knowledge production and transmission. This provides a convincing rationale for investment in higher education systems in Africa as a starting point for national innovation systems. The report proposes various measures for strengthening higher education systems in the African region such as national strategies for human resource development, reformed funding mechanisms for higher education, decentralization of decision-making to institutions, encouraging diversity and developing post-graduate programs to boost research capacity.

Many studies have thus clearly demonstrated the link between higher education and economic development. Higher education enhances economic development in various ways such as provision of human capital through its training component and knowledge through basic and applied research. Increased economic growth provides the societies with resources to tackle other problems such as funding higher education, health and reducing poverty. Given that universities contribute to national development, they should be sufficiently funded and given academic freedom to pursue their goals as long as they remain accountable to their stakeholders and to national interests. Unfortunately, most African higher education systems have been unable to fully pursue their roles due to underfunding, state interference and institutional mismanagement. Most African countries have failed to harness the power of higher education in fostering development. Thus, African higher education systems lag behind those of other continents in almost every indicator such as participation rates, funding, quality, accreditation and even the recent Knowledge Economy Index. In conclusion, it is clear that the role of higher education in Africa's development lies not only in enabling universities to engage with the global knowledge society but also to provide home-grown solutions for African challenges in health, poverty reduction and agriculture. Donors can play an essential role in enabling African higher education to achieve its promise of fostering development. Judging from the increasing interest donors have shown in higher education, it seems that they have realized the value of promoting education at all levels, including higher education (Kasozi 2008, p. 5).

2.3 HIGHER EDUCATION AS DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION

2.3.1 Overview of External Aid to Higher Education in Africa

Higher education systems in Africa have historically received external aid from the North. In the fifties and sixties, competition between the West and Soviet Union led to massive outpourings of aid meant to buy ideological influence. However, in the seventies and eighties, higher education was no longer deemed a fit recipient for aid since it was seen as an expensive and inefficient sector that was elitist and had limited public benefits to society. This also signified a shift in donor priorities to short-term alleviation efforts and emergency aid (Psacharopoulos & Patrinos 2002, p. 4).

The argument about rates of return, driven by World Bank economists became influential and the alleged low rates of return of higher education compared to basic education led to drastic reductions in funding to higher education. A World Bank study in 1986 estimated that social rates of returns for higher education was on average 13 per cent lower than those of basic education in developing countries. A review of 98 countries from 1960 to 1997 found that average social rates of return from primary education was 18.9 per cent compared to 10.8 per cent for higher education ((Psacharopoulos & Patrinos 2002, p. 8). Thus the World Bank cut its funding for higher education from 17 per cent in 1989 to 7 per cent in 1999. The World Bank also vocally argued that basic education should be prioritized over higher education and its influential voice was heeded by many donors. The 2000 World education Forum in Dakar, Senegal affirmed that primary education was the main agent for social development and ignored higher education. Given the World Banks influence over governments in Africa this thinking was absorbed by African governments which also cut back on their spending for higher education, leaving their systems underfunded. This has had a drastic impact on higher education in Africa, with restricted access due to lack of facilities and space. In 2003, enrolment in higher education represented less than one percent of the eligible student cohort in most African countries. Furthermore the quality of teaching and learning was diminished due to lack of resources and research was all but abandoned (Samoff & Carol 2004, pg 84; Commission for Africa 2005, p. 138).

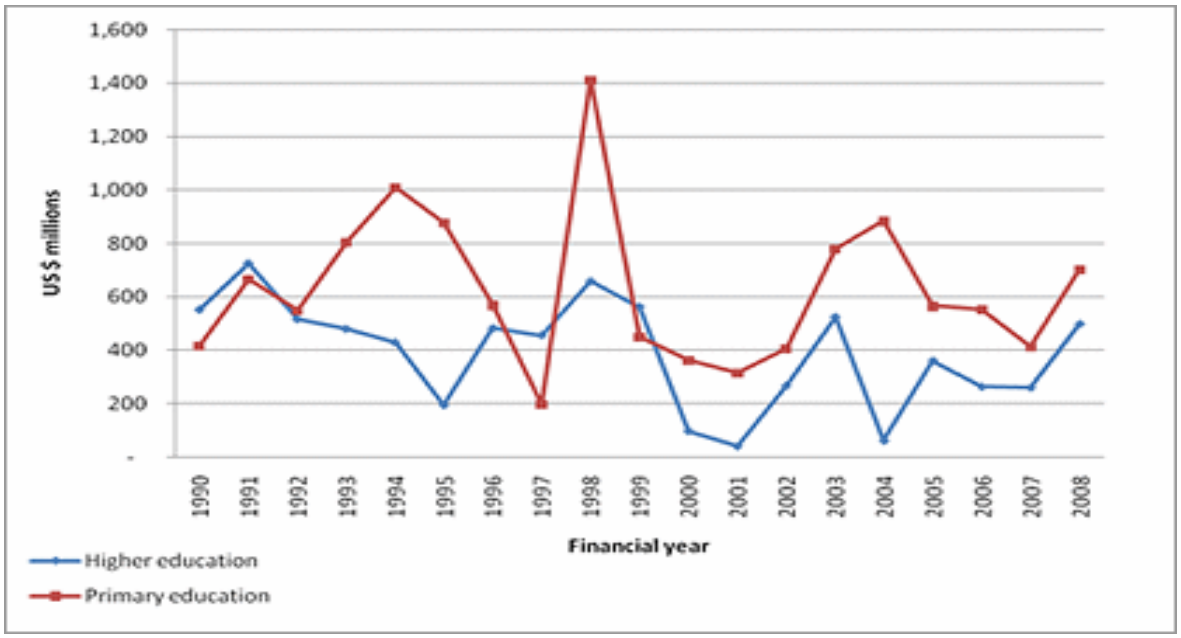


Fig 2.3: World Bank lending to higher education in Africa between 1994 and 2008 (World Bank education historical lending figures http://go.worldbank.org/PMV1NRBOM1)

Recently, higher education has however made resurgence in donor priorities, with the recognition by the World Bank of higher education's role in developing knowledge societies, especially with the rise of some countries such as India, China and Malaysia due to their investment in higher education. There has also been widespread consensus that the previous rates of return argument did not acknowledge higher educations' contribution to job creation, entrepreneurship and innovation. Furthermore, they ignored the fact that research has a positive impact on a country's economic and social prospects and given that research in Africa is mostly confined to universities, then higher education has benefits over and above the supposed social rates of return. In a globalised knowledge economy, higher education can help developing countries to keep up with developed societies through adoption and diffusion of technology into all aspects of production and social life. Furthermore higher education can play a great role in addressing socioeconomic and environmental challenges which beset Africa. The concept of brain circulation, which is touted by donors such as the World Bank and UNESCO as a way of mitigating the serious effects of brain drain, relies upon there being a good system of higher education in place to receive the "brains" circulated (Commission for Africa 2005, p. 134; TFHES 2000, p. 95).

The Task Force on Higher Education and Society published a report in 2000 which indicated a shift in thinking over the role of higher education in development, and this brought donors back into higher education. The Commission for Africa report (2005) also indicated donor willingness to invest in higher education as a means of enabling Africa to solve its problems. It recommended an increase in donor investment in higher education and for funding to set up centers of excellence in science and technology in Africa. In 2008, the World Bank advocated the need for a knowledge-intensive approach to development in Africa, an approach that would require donor investment in revitalizing African higher education (Cloete et. al. 2005, p. 4; World Bank 2009).

Among multilateral donors, the World Bank is the main donor involved in higher education. It has been active in higher education since 1963 and has been involved in a wider range of activities, working with governments, institutions and other stakeholders. From 1990 to 2008 the World Bank lent over US$7.43 billion for 327 education projects with tertiary education components in 136 countries. Between 1998 and 2008, Bank lending for tertiary education averaged US$327 million per year. The Africa region accounted for 17 per cent of Bank lending for tertiary education over the last 10 years. The United Nations

Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) is the only UN body mandated to support capacity-building in higher education and plays a vanguard role in promoting reform to enable universities be sensitive to national, regional and global challenges. Though not a donor organization *per se*, it is sometimes used by other donors to pursue certain projects under its umbrella. Furthermore it sponsors research and dissemination efforts such as seminars and conferences and provides support to the Association of African Universities (AAU) (Lewis 2009).

Type of aid	Definition	Major donors
Bilateral aid	Aid from the government of one country directly to another country	France (AFD), Germany (GTZ), Japan (JICA), the Netherlands (NUFFIC), Spain (AECID), Sweden (SIDA), UK (DFID), United States (USAID)
Multilateral aid	Aid or loans from an international agency to a country	World Bank, European Commission, regional development banks (AfDB)
Private foundations	Foundations or trusts that give aid from private or charitable sources	Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, Carnegie Corporation, Rockefeller Foundation, Ford Foundation, John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, Andrew W. Mellon Foundation.

Table 2.1: Major donors to African higher education (Lewis 2009).

There are many private foundations supporting higher education in Africa such as the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation which funds research to inform policy-making in African countries. The Partnership for Higher Education in Africa (PHEA) is a private consortium of foundations aimed at building core capacity in African higher education and has spent US$150 million between 2000 to 2005, with a further commitment of US$200 million. PHEA focuses on ICT, higher education studies, research networking and training for management and leadership in universities (Cloete et. al 2005, p.24).

France is arguably the largest bilateral donor to higher education, giving almost US$ 1361 million in ODA to higher education. This is aimed mostly at reforming universities to meet international standards and build up science capacity whereas almost half is used on scholarships for study in France and in developing countries. The United States (US), through USAID, is also a major donor to higher education in Africa, and focusing mostly on scholarships for studies in the US. The recent Higher Education for Development program promotes linkages between American and African universities to solve local problems. Japan is also a major donor through JICA and support select institutions to build up research capacity. Scandinavian countries have also provided large amounts of aid to African universities such as Swedish aid to expand the University of Dar es Salaam. The United Kingdom supports partnership between HEIs and reserved £15 million (US$22 million) for the Development Partnership in Higher Education program from 2006 to 2013 (Lewis 2009).

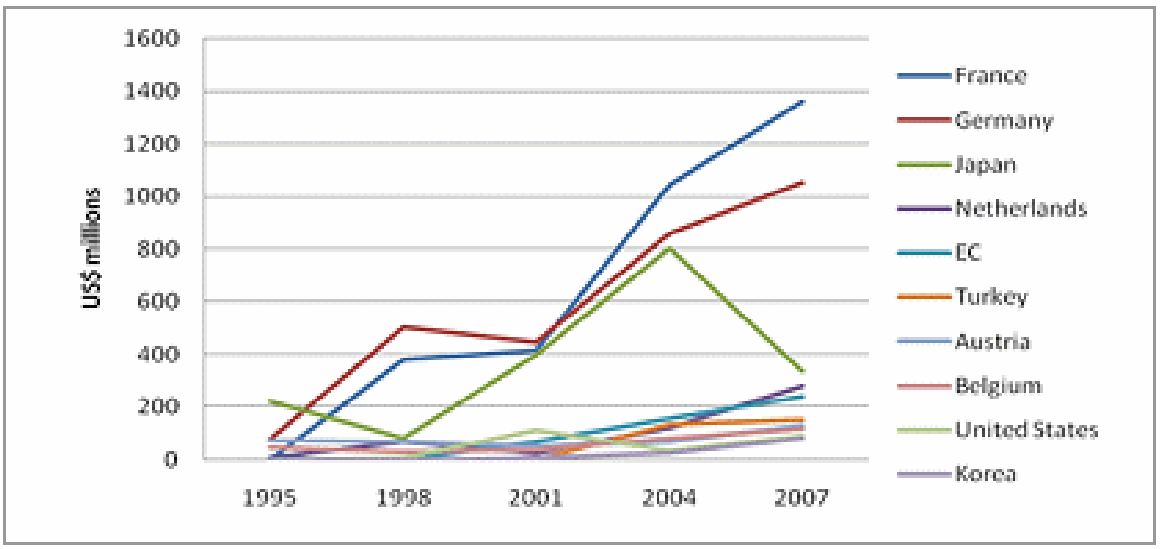


Fig 2.4: Official Development Assistance (ODA), in US$ millions, to higher education from top 10 donors (OECD.StatExtracts http://stats.oecd.org/wbos/)

2.3.2 Donor Perspectives on Intervention in Higher Education

Most donor agencies consider development to be the fight against poverty and consider development cooperation as a means of reducing poverty and increasing the quality of life in developing countries. Recently, there has been a change in donor aid orientation, from fighting the direct consequences of poverty towards increasing capacity of developing countries to handle these consequences themselves (Cloete et. al. 2005, p. 12).

Motivations of donor countries in being involved in development cooperation vary from country to country. Most countries are involved for philanthropic reasons, as stated in their declarations and commitments. This is seen as a humanitarian mission to help out others in need simply as a sign of togetherness and communality. Some donor agencies, such as the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA) see the needs of the recipients of aid as most important in the cooperation process, and aims at supplying them with tools to make development cooperation no longer necessary. The Japanese International Cooperation Agency (JICA) is also motivated by such philanthropic principles and aims at enhancing international understanding and cooperation through sharing of knowledge and experience. Other agencies seem to be driven by national interests, such as the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), which aim at developing security, prosperity and good governance as a ways of promoting strong civil societies and reducing the risk of conflict and terrorism in developing countries situations which can easily spread to other parts of the world. Moreover, development cooperation can be seen cynically as a way of creating jobs for Western nationals and also as fertile ground for obtaining experience and knowledge in such matters. Most donors are driven by a confluence of many reasons thus cannot be easily placed in one band or the other. But national interests, dictated by the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, play a role in determining development cooperation priorities and interests. Diplomacy and political correctness can get entangled in aid, to the detriment of the effectiveness of aid programs (Buchert 1995, p. 33; Cloete et. al. 2005, p. 5).

Development cooperation in higher education is a relatively recent concern of donors. Previously, higher education was seen as a luxury ancillary with no real impact on reducing poverty and increasing quality of life. It was thus ignored in most development strategies and up to the 1990s did not appear in Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSP) authored by many African countries (Banya & Elu 2001, p. 15). With the World Bank's renewed interest in higher education in the late 1990s, higher education made resurgence in donor priorities and was favorably mentioned in such authoritative reports such as the Task Force on Higher Education and Society's report, the G8's Africa Action Plan and the Commission for Africa's report. Higher education was seen as a vital part of the education system, and the World Bank promoted a holistic approach to developing education, an approach which would necessarily involve investment in higher education by donors. The Commission for Africa identifies four priority areas in higher education; professional skills, physical infrastructure, human resources and research capacity and calls for a US$500 million donor

commitment to revitalize African higher education (Cloete et. al. 2005, p. 6, World Bank 2002; Commission for Africa 2005, p. 138).

However, given the importance apportioned to higher education by donors, there is relatively little commitment to actual funding. The World Bank, which promotes creating knowledge societies as key to development in Africa, has no funding commitments to that effect and this is replayed in many donor agencies, bilateral or multilateral. Moreover, many investments that are there are mostly aimed at institutional development, and have no linkage to the role of higher education in development or as any concrete plan to develop the whole education system of Africa at various levels. Approaching African higher education at the continental level is vital to revitalizing its role in development especially as relates to regional cooperation in research and dissemination of knowledge and experience (Cloete et. al. 2005, p. 15; Buchert 1995)

Cloete et al (2005, p. 18) lists three categories of higher education priority areas, which can serve as a basis for assessing performance and intent of donors as regards external support to higher education in Africa. The three categories are support for capacity building, provision of programs and facilities and policy.

Support for Capacity Building
Academic Programme Development
HR (teachers, nurses,)
Institutional Capacity Building
Leadership and Management
Networks (academic exchange)
Networks (institutional co-operation)
Networks (research)
Quality Enhancement
Student Exchange (cross border education)
Provision of Programmes/Facilities
Academic Support (access, learning improvement)
Distance Education (Virtual University, etc)
Gender Programmes
HIV/Aids
ICT
Libraries
Science and Technology
Policy
Dialogue & Debate
Governance
Higher Education Research/Studies

Table 2.2: Categories of higher education priority areas (Cloete et. al. 2005, p. 16).

These three categories indicate what is necessary for donors to provide so as to revitalize African higher education and help it fulfill its role in fostering development in Africa. Support for capacity building involves provision for human resource development, institutional capacity building, leadership and management training, networking or academic exchange and institutional cooperation, quality enhancement and student exchange. Provision of programs and facilities entails building up infrastructure, material and course offerings in relevant areas, especially as pertains to such cross-cutting themes as HIV/AIDS, gender and ICT. Policy involves enhancing dialogue and debate on higher education and its role in society through seminars and conferences. It also involves support to governance of the higher education system and this involves direct engagement with the state and the Ministries of Education which run the systems. Finally, policy also encompasses enhancing study and research on the theme of higher education. Studies on higher education in Africa are sketchy at best, and to inform donor programs valid information is required to guide choices and priorities. Thus supporting higher education studies in Africa is a vital component of external aid to higher education.

2.3.3 Donor Approaches to Intervention in Higher Education

In their interventions in higher education, donors use varied approaches to support higher education and research in the South. Such approaches include sector support programs, institutional cooperation programs, scholarships and fellowships, research cooperation programs, regional networks and academic exchange programs. The most prominent approaches include institutional cooperation, research cooperation and fellowship programs. Donor interventions can be analyzed from three viewpoints; level of intervention, type of assistance offered and the program's administrative arrangements (Boeren 2005, p. 11).

A donor program can focus its aid to one or a combination of the following levels; a sector, a system, an institute or an individual. As part of bilateral or multilateral sector support, aid to higher education can be sector-specific. The topics of study and research funded will thus be linked to the sector which is being funded. Sector-level interventions include Sweden's research cooperation program, components of the Danida Fellowship Program and the Dutch NPT program. Interventions at system level aim to fund development of one or more aspects of a higher education system. Such areas could be quality assurance,

teaching and learning, research and others. Other interventions focus on institutional development. These interventions aim mostly at enabling the institution to fulfill its strategic plans, though it could include other elements relating to the donor's wishes. Institutional support could be in varied forms such as capital for infrastructure, research cooperation and staff training and arises from the belief that strengthening the institutions strategic capabilities will enable it to perform its duty in national development much more effectively. Other donor interventions such as most DAAD programs and the Ford Foundation's International Fellowship Program (IFP) focus on the individual level, based upon a belief that investment in key individuals will enable them to contribute to socio-economic growth in their home countries. These interventions try to create a well-educated elite which has an international outlook but remains committed to national development. This elite is expected to return home and guide their nations towards development. The Netherlands Scholarship program aims to support training of individual staff form universities in the South and thus contribute well-qualified teachers and administrators for the universities (Boeren 2005, p 13; Norad 2005, p. 137).

There are three broad categories of assistance that donor interventions can offer; training, partnerships and technical assistance. Fellowship programs and scholarships fall under the category of training. They enable students and scholars from the South to undertake training in various academic, vocational and professional courses, mostly in the North and thus improve their knowledge and skills. These individuals are then expected to return home and contribute their acquired competencies towards fostering socio-economic growth and social welfare by contributing to improved performance in their particular sector or institution. This can be successful if linked to an organizational or sector development plan and also if the individual, upon his or her return, finds and environment conducive to application of the new skills. Partnerships between institutions in the North and South are fast becoming the standard model of development cooperation in higher education. Partnerships promise equal relationship between North and South and also a long term commitment, conditions that are ideal for capacity building. For an exhaustive discussion of partnerships, see section 2.4.2. Technical cooperation takes the form of specific inputs aimed at strengthening higher education and research capacity. This can run the gamut from external consultation to infrastructure development. Technical assistance is a favorite of multilateral actors such as the World Bank and UNESCO who are considered authorities in certain fields. This assistance is mostly aimed at projects which the Southern partner is

already running. The Northern partners are usually involved only in providing help in specific needs which the Southern partners are unable to meet. The Swedish Partnership for Africa initiative is an example which is involved in capacity building in African universities through technical assistance (Boeren 2005, p. 14).

Administrative arrangements usually centre around which body is responsible for policy, administration and implementation. Although previously most cooperation programs were run directly by government agencies responsible for development or foreign affairs, there is a clear trend that began in the nineties towards division of responsibilities for policy making, administration and program implementation. This is seen as an important step in promoting transparency and accountability. Moreover, it aims at creating coherence with an overall development strategy and also facilitates closer synergy with other development-oriented programs. While national development agencies have remained in charge of policy-making, intermediary bodies are more often used in program administration whereas implementation is shared between the intermediary bodies and institutions, both in the South and in the North. Thus, the national agencies are in charge of aligning interventions in higher education with the overall national development policy. The intermediary bodies are charged with administrative duties and financial oversight. This is seen in Norway, with Norad in charge of policy and SIU in charge of administration, in Netherlands with the Ministry for Development Cooperation in charge of policy and NUFFIC in charge of administration. In some rare cases, such as the Ford Foundation's IFP, organizations in the South have the main responsibility for administration and implementation (Boeren 2005, p. 16; Norad 2005, p. 137).

Traditional approach

The traditional mode of assistance was based on bilateral relations (colonial and ideological ties) and was mostly in the form of scholarships and fellowships. These models of assistance were couched within political, ideological and or diplomatic frameworks and rarely took into account the need to adapt foreign aid to development (Buchert 1995, p. 2). The principle stated aims of assistance was to offer training to citizens of developing countries who would then return home and contribute to their countries' development by using the skills and competencies learnt. After independence bilateral donors such as USAID, NORAD, SIDA, DANIDA among others provided development aid to African countries and higher education was considered one of the important sector. Other than

scholarships, other forms of aid included loan of teaching staff and infrastructure development (Lulat 2005, p. 381). Western countries and the Soviet Union used aid during the Cold War as a tool to buy influence in the developing world and scholarships were seen as a way of exposing Africans to the ideologies so that they would return home and establish replicas. Weaver (1985) concluded that Soviet aid, especially the establishment of the Lumumba Friendship University in Moscow, was generally more effective than Western aid, since its ideology basically called for support for political and social development.

These programs had some distinctive common features. First, their objectives were vague and did not have any clear indicators for measuring success. This meant that it was very difficult to assess the success of the programs in achieving their objectives. Moreover, these programs were supply-driven, and reflected either what was available in the North or what the donor thought was necessary for the developing country. The South was rarely consulted in the design of these programs. These programs were not part of any broader developmental policy. Thus they did not have any clear overall goal and were not relevant to the development needs of the Southern partners (Norad 2005, p.29). The implementation of these donor interventions was mostly haphazard and ill-informed. This was worsened by the wide divergence between policy objectives and implementation. Moreover, given that there were weak databases regarding other donor interventions, since implementation was usually haphazardly documented, there were no indications of what worked (best practice) and what didn't (Buchert 1995, p. 3).

The Need for Change

A Changing Development Cooperation Agenda

A changing climate in the sphere of development cooperation has led to changes in the traditional approach. Due to calls for more accountability in aid, donors require greater engagement with the Southern partners than before. There is a shift from recipient orientation to recipient responsibility. This in essence implies that Southern recipients of aid should shoulder more responsibilities in efforts to promote development (Norad 2005, p. 32). Stakeholders in the North, including voters, are beginning to suffer from "aid fatigue' after years of donor aid with no tangible results. Thus, aid is expected to be directed at effective measures to reduce poverty and donor aid to higher education is no exception. Thus, most policies governing development cooperation in education are stressing the importance of promoting Southern-owned poverty reduction strategies and their inculcation into

cooperation programs in higher education. This thus requires interventions that are relevant to the needs of the southern partners (SIU 1997; Chapman & Austin 2002, p. 96).

The Changing Role of Higher Education

Higher education has gained new found prominence with respect to its changing role in society, a situation which has come about due to renewed thinking about the role of higher education in fostering sustainable development. This is reflected in a range of publications and policy documents as described at length in Section 2.2., higher education is now seen as a significant driver of socio-economic growth. In the sixties, higher education was approached from a manpower planning perspectives as merely a means to develop specific skills the newly independent countries needed, due to withdrawal of qualified colonialists. But due to the growing budgets, especially due to recurrent expenditures, the World Bank advised on more investment in basic education. This was based on rates of return analysis which showed that basic education had more benefits to society compared to higher education. Thus, funding to higher education was severely cut back and this had a deleterious impact on African higher education. In the current society, education is seen as key in driving economic growth in a context where knowledge has replaced physical capital as the engine of economic growth. Human capital is seen as decisive in economic wealth creation and social welfare (World Bank 1997). The quality of knowledge generated by universities and its dissemination throughout the economy is critical to national competitiveness. An OECD study showed that knowledge is a key factor in economic growth. One extra year of schooling among 15-64 year olds has an estimated 6% effect on GDP. This effect is even higher in developing countries (OECD 2002). Thus, higher education has found a new pedestal among donors and is considered as a vital tool in fostering sustainable development in the South. This requires new approaches that can deliver results (Chapman & Austin 2002, p. 96).

Changing Framework Conditions

Globalisation has brought with it challenges but also opportunities. ICT has enabled universities to be able to collaborate in ways that would have been impossible decades ago. Thus, a new frontier has opened, and cooperation programs have started taking advantage of these opportunities. Delivery methods have vastly improved and online teaching, radio classes and television classes are fast becoming an acceptable medium of borderless education. Global standards on quality assurance can also enable institutions in the South to

provide quality higher education, especially in the context of collaboration with institutions in the North (Chapman & Austin 2002, p. 99).

Moreover, increasing globalisation implies that universities need to engage with others. This can be very helpful as far as North-South cooperation is concerned, since universities in the North are taking an active interest in partnerships with universities abroad for financial, altruistic or academic reasons. Promoting internationalisation through linkages is thus a positive side effect which can be harnessed for development cooperation. However, due to the increasingly competitive nature of international higher education, universities in the North might increasingly opt for partnerships with other well-established Northern universities in favour of weak Southern universities and this might bode ill for development cooperation.

Massification of higher education in South means that there is a growing demand for HE that is not met by national systems. Donors are concerned with increasing access, especially or minorities and women. However, programs based in the north usually perpetuate the inequities of the system. Thus, there has been a trend towards programs based in the South to provide greater access. Moreover, the cost of education in the North is far much greater than in the South, thus South-based programs can be seen to be more effective and provide access to more students (Norad 2005, p. 26).

Brain drain has arisen as one of the most harmful challenges to African higher education. It deprives developing countries of the human capital necessary to accelerate socio-economic progress. Thus, there is a need to stem the increasing flow of academics and researchers to the North. The dismal condition of higher education in Africa is one of the major reasons contributing to brain drain thus; any measure that aims at redressing this flow would naturally start by providing better opportunities in the South (UNESCO 1998). Fellowships in North contribute to brain drain since there is a great risk that the student might not return to the country of origin. Whereas mobility of scholars contributes to greater scholastic achievement, most mobility programs are one way from North to South, and rarely serve to provide meaningful dialogue between the two parties. According to the Commission for Africa, the African Capacity Building Foundation estimates that Africa loses 20,000 trained personnel annually to developed countries. Thus there is a need to develop programs that address this issue. Programs based in the South reduce the risk of

brain drain and in fact encourage brain gain from institutions in the North (Commission for Africa 2005).

Innovative approach

Given the outlined reasons above, there is an urgent need to change the approach that donors use to intervene in higher education in the South. It is obvious that the fellowship programs used by Northern countries usually do more harm than good, even if unintended. Within the milieu of the donor society, there are new programs being tried out that would qualify to be termed as innovative approaches to donor intervention. Innovative in the sense that they promote novel approaches to supporting higher education in the South (Domatob 1998).

These new innovations are driven by a need to increase the developmental impact, effectiveness, relevance, and cost-efficiency of donor programs within higher education in the South. These new mechanisms strive to achieve a better and remarkable development impact that has long eluded the traditional fellowship programs that permeate the North-South cooperation arena in HE. The approaches are based on principles which are meant to promote better capacity building in the South and sustainable development in the long run. Such principles include recipient responsibility, collaborative partnerships, demand-driven programs, anchoring in the South and an anchoring in transparent and objective development policies (Norad 2005, p. 58).

Donor intervention programs have been undergoing changes over time, and these principles are slowly being adopted into the programs. Whereas some donors choose to overhaul programs and replace them with completely new programs, such as in the case of NFP being replaced by NOMA, other donors choose to inculcate these principles into existing programs thus modifying them to suit new demands and objectives. An example would be the Netherlands Fellowship Program (Norad 2005, p. 139).

For this new approach to be effective, it should focus on three principal objectives. First, donor interventions should be relevant to the development needs of the African countries. This should entail a focus on enabling African higher education to adapt to and utilize the knowledge economy towards becoming engines of growth and development. They should reflect the needs of the African continent, specifically in terms of promoting appropriate science and technology and also research on development issues. Secondly, the

interventions should shift from a development aid perspective towards collaboration in knowledge production. And thirdly, the interventions should strive to strengthen research capacity and infrastructure through collaboration and targeted funding (Domatob 1998, p. 58; Norad 2005, p;. 139).

2.3.4 Effect Measurement

Given the investments made in higher education, it is evident that donors require some sort of evaluation to establish whether the measures taken are producing the desired results. This involves commissioning evaluations of the capacity building programs and also developing qualitative or quantitative indicators that will be used to measure the effect of the capacity building measures. Developing valid indicators requires a clear grasp of the issues and challenges involved in capacity building. With regards to higher education, this involves issues surrounding institutional development and quality assessment, since in the end, developing high quality institutional outputs is the main goal. Several measures to achieve quality in higher education have been used, such as performance based funding and the concepts of academic levels and results, all of which aim at identifying and even provoking high quality outputs in academic programs and institutions. Targeted capacity building investments by external donors also raises issues regarding higher education's autonomy as a system and its relationship to its society and state. Furthermore such investments affect the internal organization of the institution, especially as involves the control the donors have over internal issues such as faculty, students and resource allocation (Coombe 1989).

Validity and reliability of indicators is a critical concern. Validity refers to whether the indicators are relevant for measuring the effect, whereas reliability implies that the indicators are well-defined, based on valid data and have repeatability value. Moreover, there is also the risk that the indicators might influence institutional behavior, in that the programs to be measured might strive to achieve highs cores in particular indicators thus skewing the results that will be obtained using such indicators. This is a great risk when failure in passing will imply a threat of punishment or if the institutions do not accept or understand the indicators. Thus it is evident that it is a prerequisite to involve the test subjects in the process of identifying the indicators and ensure that they are acceptable to them and understood within the institutional context as regards intent and function (Cohen, Manion & Morrison 2007, p. 148).

Identifying indicators for such complex activities as academic study and research and institutional organization is a complex and challenging process. This becomes more so given the increase in number of partners involved in the activity. The complex process of causality makes it incredibly difficult to identify exhaustive indicators that account for everything, and sometimes external factors that were not accounted for can skew results towards a certain perspective. Even success in achieving a certain goal can come at the expense of another, as is much theorized about regarding equity and access in higher education. Increasing access can come at the expense of quality given decreased resources and lower standards to accommodate all. And efforts to increase quality, which necessitates higher standards and selective choosing, tend to restrict access, as in the Ivy League universities and the Oxbridge tradition of the United Kingdom (Samoff & Carrol 2004, Coombe 1989).

Indicators can have two purposes. First, they can be used to assess whether the aim of a project has been realized at the end of a project. Secondly, they can be used to indicate whether resources and activities within a project are aimed at and progressing towards achieving the final objectives. In the latter case, given that plans can change due to unforeseen circumstances, adhering to a plan should never be the objective, but rather indicators should allow for modifications if necessary for overall aim (Coombe 1989).

2.4 ISSUES IN AID TO HIGHER EDUCATION

2.4.1 Gaps

The concept of gaps is adapted from Cloete et al (2005), where it is defined as the omissions in the design and implementation process which might affect the eventual success of the program. The issue of gaps can be approached from a notional perspective, in which sense it would refer to such obvious facts as the support for flagship institutions in the countries involved, lack of support for lifelong learning, lack of modalities for stemming brain drain among other issues. However, this paper approaches it from both a “systemic” and “systematic” perspective (Cloete et. al. 2005, p. 20).

Systemic Gaps

There is an apparent lack of support for the establishment or further development of any other form of higher education other than universities. Other forms would encompass

mid-level tertiary institutions as exemplified by community colleges in the United States, “høyskole” in Norway, “fachhochschule” in Germany and polytechnics in East Africa. There is an argument among most donors that the private higher education sector and, to a limited extent, the national governments, would cover this gap thus mitigating it (Cloete et. al. 2005, p. 21; Obanya 2007, p. 29) This gap regarding the intermediate sector would have two negative results. First of all, there is a chronic lack of human resources with technical and vocational skills, and such a gap would only further entrench this shortage, which has a marked effect on as infrastructure projects and industrial production. Secondly, this gap puts immense pressure on higher education as the only type of legitimate higher education. Given the increasing completion rates at secondary level coupled with deceased funding for public higher education systems throughout Africa, this has deleterious effects on quality, access and equity. Moreover, universities are forced to absorb a large number of ill-prepared students who might apply themselves much better in a mid-level tertiary institution (Cloete et. al. 2005 p. 21; Kaluba & Williams 1999, p. 215). The World Bank sees vocational education and technical training (VET) as a vital component in producing skilled labor that responds to the needs of a changing economy, especially in production and manufacturing. This is also a key solution to providing equity in access to higher education, as VET requires lower access standards and enlarges enrolment in higher education. The World Bank has large commitments in this area of skills training. Many donors ignore this sector and it is left to charities and private foundations to address, which they do haphazardly and with insignificant financial commitments (World Bank 1991, p. 19).

Moreover, most donor programs in higher education do not earmark funding for research on higher education in Africa. Policy and practice can be better informed by empirical data regarding various issues and success indicators in higher education such as graduate absorption rates in the labor market and labor market needs. Yet a lot of donors involved in the support for higher education either ignore research on higher education completely or mostly use data from the World Bank, which though being acknowledged as an authoritative source, is hardly up to data and most of its data is specifically tailored to its own needs. Thus, most programs are based on sketchy, or even wrong, data and this affects their viability and eventual success (Buchert 1995, p.32 & p. 45; Cloete et al. 2005, p. 22). The PHEA sees studies about higher education in Africa as a crucial step in discovering what is ailing African higher education and how to fix it. PHEA calls for donor commitments in this field, and has made substantial funding for projects in this area (Cloete et. al. 2005, p. 27).

Most donor programs for support of higher education in Africa tend to be aimed at institutional capacity building and mostly ignore the government departments or Ministries which steer the higher education system. This is unfortunate since it leads to a considerable imbalance of capacity in favor of the institutions vis-à-vis the national level. Capacity building at the national level is very important since it is the agency that steers and interacts with the institutions. The Ministry of Education usually steers the higher education system, only it paying lip service to the autonomy of universities. A Ministry operating under capacity and staffed by inept and uninformed bureaucrats can undermine the successes donor programs create within the institutions. Furthermore, it creates a competition between the national level and the institutional level for control of donor funding, a situation which runs counter to efficiency within the national education system (Banya & Elu 2001, p. 29; Wangenge-Ouma 2008, p. 224; Cloete et. al. 2005, p. 22).

Systematic gaps

Systematic' gaps encompass a lack of consistency, concentration and coordination (Cloete et. al. 2005, p. 21; Holtland & Boeren 2006, p. 28). Most bilateral and multilateral donors have large amounts of money spread over even larger areas. Thus, the effect of the aid is watered down. Cloete et. al. (2005) gives a breakdown of figures for grants given by various agencies and bilateral donors. In most cases, the amounts are tiny compared to the missions and projects they are spread out to cover. Furthermore, the donors are not consistent in the projects they tackle, and mostly keep switching from one program to another, and this does not bode well for the sustainability of the capacity building measures (Samoff and Carol 2004, p. 91).

As of 2004, the United States had 84 grants spread over 14 thematic areas in 24 sub-Saharan countries. There was limited concentration in the three thematic areas of academic program development, institutional development and human resource management within the universities. The remaining 11 thematic areas had fewer than six grants each, each grant coming with relatively small amounts of money attached. France, Germany, and the United Kingdom, other major donors to sub-Saharan African higher education, were represented in many thematic areas, but with fewer than three grants each, each grant similarly coming with small amounts of money attached. Thus, it is clear that a lot of donors do not concentrate their resources on specific themes but rather spread them out on issues they consider of relevance to themselves. Only three countries show greater levels of consistency and concentration. These three are Netherlands, Norway and Japan (Cloete et. al. 2005, p. 44).

Other than the lack of consistency and concentration, most donor programs also rarely attempt to coordinate their efforts with other donors already involved in similar projects or even to jointly run projects. So far, only the PHEA has been involved in efforts to jointly coordinate support to higher education in Africa. It thus follows to conclude that, with a few exceptions, support to African higher education is widely scattered across many project and split up between many different thematic areas and many different countries. This support does not necessarily add up into a meaningful sum total at the end of the day and can even end up with different donors competing in certain areas whereas others are totally ignored. Given that most donor projects are initiated and run mostly at the donors will and entail pushing an agenda that the donors wish to, there is a risk of donor being poured into projects that seem easy to monitor or have success, whereas other areas are ignored. Furthermore, certain countries seem to be favored by the certain donors for political reasons or due to cultural or otherwise associations whereas some countries are ignored (Cloete et. al. 2005, p. 21; Samoff and Carol 2004, p. 161).

Coordination among donors can play a great role in minimizing such effects and also in ensuring that support goes where it is most needed. Pooling resources ensures that there is a larger kitty that can make a difference as opposed to small underfunded individual projects that do not make a significant impact. Organizations which have proven themselves capable of coordinating donor activity such as the PHEA or UNESCO should be given a mandate to do so. Furthermore, coordination among donors has the positive effect of enabling sharing of information and best practice and thus potentially enhancing chances of success. Since all donor countries stress sustainable development as a key issue it would be logical to enhance coherence, concentration and coordination. This would lead to accumulation of knowledge about what is effective or what is. Donor aid should start moving towards supporting sustainable programs rather than individual projects otherwise it will simply remain a tool for promotion of narrow donor country interests, dependency and Western patronage (Banya & Elu 1999, p. 195; Holtland & Boeren 2006, p. 28; Buchert 1999, p. 230).

Capacity building programs are bound to be more effective and sustainable if they were better coordinated. Bilateral and multilateral donor agencies dealing with higher education and research see better coordination among themselves as a priority. The Paris Declaration provides the framework for better coordination among donors and with Southern stakeholders. It stresses Southern ownership, alignment with recipient structures ad priorities, joint funding and harmonization of activities as the best measures to achieve efficient coordination and thus ensure success (Holtland & Boeren 2006, p. 27). However, it

is evident that recipient countries have a great role to play in fostering coordination. If the recipient country has a viable strategy, donors will coalesce around it. For this to happen, the priorities must be documented, such as in a PRSP, clearly defined and have political support (Wield 1997, p. 44).

2.4.2 Challenges

Partnership

Partnership implies that all stakeholders have agreed to work together in designing and or implementing a program, and that each party has a clear role and stake in how the program is implemented. Partnerships are a new mode of operation in the field of development aid. Capacity to identify needs and opportunities, develop common interests, and negotiate commitments is essential building blocks for successful partnerships. Partnerships are dynamic, long-term processes that evolve based on mutual respect and trust. They acknowledge the diversity of the stakeholders in the program and draw on relative strengths to mitigate weaknesses and strengthen the whole program. In capacity building, partnerships build a collaborative perspective how needs and priorities are addressed and resolved (Obanya 2007, p. 27; Samoff & Carrol 2004, p. 123).

Partnerships in development aid are meant to ensure the relevance of the projects. Projects would only contribute to development if they address the problems of the South with appropriate tools and measure. Thus, involving partners form the South, who know the problems and causes and also can identify appropriate tools, gives the projects relevance and a greater chance of success. It is a widely accepted fact in the donor community that development is essentially an internally-driven process that the donors can merely accelerate or contribute to by enabling a conducive environment for the process to succeed. Indeed, the MDGs state that to achieve the goals, donor agencies and countries need to develop a global partnership for development. Despite the ubiquity of the partnership dialogue in the field of development aid, with its underlying principles of equality, capacity building and shared responsibilities, a lot of structural inequalities exist between the North and South which obstruct the realization of ideal partnerships. With majority of the funding in development aid originating in the North, actions and priorities, as well as evaluation standards typically comply with the tradition and wishes of the North, along with their prevailing ideological perspective. Thus, priorities and ideas originating in the South are usually ignored or merely politely considered. In many instances, the controller of resources can dictate which projects

are to be funded, and any disagreement can be punished by withholding resources. Thus it is clear that the asymmetric power relationship is stoked by the differences between the rich North and the impoverished South (Elu & Banya 1999, p. 194).

There is need to forge partnerships which are aware of these asymmetric power relations and their implications towards the success of the partnerships. Moreover, donors should attempt to reduce these structural imbalances through considered inculcation of partnership values in their programs. The needs and priorities of the South should be the basis for forming cooperative partnerships. The development of capacity should take place primarily at institutions in the South, with them playing a major role in directing the process towards their identified and legitimate needs. And the partners should have a clear map of which responsibilities rest with which partner thus ensuring clear communication and coordination. Ideally, a partnership should possess attributes of collaborative operations, where the actors form North and South share decision making power over planning and implementation of joint programs, mutual governance which involves each partner having some substantive influence over policies and practices of the other partner at the implementation level, and sustainable development which involves the Southern partners essentially being groomed to take over the project and run their own in the future. (Elu & Banya 1999, p. 197; Samoff & Carrol 2004, p. 67; Samoff 1999, p. 251)

In the realm of higher education, all forms of aid have been re-labeled partnership, including exchange programs, technical assistance, institutional tutelage and even apprenticeship arrangements. However, this partnership seems to perpetuate the same old dependencies by simply cloaking them in a new term (Samoff & Carrol 2004, p. 71). This study intends to assess how this concept of partnership has affected the design and implementation process of the NOMA program, and how this affects its chances for success. This will mainly involve observing how great a role the African partners have been given in the process as this is important in giving them a voice in deciding what is best for them, a critical component in motivating them to participate fully. External support to higher education in Africa has played a great role in the perpetuation of dependence, and, through the dependence of higher education, in the perpetuation of poverty in Africa. This is through various avenues, from cultural neo-colonialism to reduced economic growth through underfunding of the higher education system at the behest of the World Bank. The concept

of partnership therefore promises a new beginning, but only if it is seriously approached and carefully delineated (Samoff & Carrol 2004, p. 156; Samoff 1999, p. 255).

There are various constraints to partnerships. First, needs assessment is a big issue, as some donors use dubious means to assess which projects to initiate or fund. Either they us either own assessments, which might be based on sources that are not contextual, or they could depend on agents who don't necessarily represent the needs of the population. Secondly, lack of appropriate equipment in projects leads to breakdown of programs and schedules. Moreover, most donor programs tend to employ Northern expatriates to run the problem yet they should try as much as possible to use local capacity or Southern expatriates in the North who have a better grasp of the local situation (Obanya 2007, p. 135-136).

Sustainability and local ownership

Sustainability in education interventions can be seen as the long term approach donors would take towards targeted assistance in a specific area. In a wider context, it would refer to positive and lasting effects a donor intervention would have on a particular society, especially in terms of enabling that society to deal with its own problems, rather than having to receive aid every time the same problem crops up. Sustainability is thus a measure of how effective the intervention was in terms of building up capacity to handle development challenges in the particular society or country. In conjunction with genuine partnerships, the concept of sustainability originates form a desire to reduce dependency in North-South relations and thus promote local ownership of the development project. This arises from the motivation that if the South stakeholders can begin to run the projects themselves, they would begin to be able to solve their own problems rather than require intervention form the North. Another motivation is the limited funds available, and the need by Northern agencies and countries to justify their expenditure on development issues. If it is seen that the funds are being poured down the drain without any tangible results, this leads to donor fatigue, which would eventually reduce funding or development projects, especially in urgent cases. Thus, donors stress sustainability and eventual local ownership (Wield 1997, p. 46; Holtland & Boeren 2006, p. 27).

Most development initiatives stress sustainability as an ultimate goal, but they seldom elaborate on how they aim to achieve it, or even if it was planned for during the design of the program or was just an add-on to make the project more "appetizing". Within the donor community, "buzzwords" tend to crop up and be used without any attempts at either practical definitions or procedures for actualization. Partnership, sustainability and

ownership are such buzzwords that tend to be used within the donor milieu. Thus it is currently the fad to avoid short-term project interventions but rather focus on long term projects (at least three years) which are seen as having a more lasting effect than short-term stop-gap measures (Cloete et. al. 2005). It is obvious that blindly following fads, as well-meant as it might be, can have serious detrimental effects to capacity building, especially when this is coupled with lack of serious planning. The impact of this would be felt more so in specialized fields of knowledge which require intensive commitment and long time to produce results. Unfortunately, these fields of science and engineering are exactly what Africa needs to take off into the knowledge economy. Although the development partners should be involved in discussing needs of the recipient HEIs, capacity building needs to be determined by the recipients. Given that the final aim is to strengthen institutions and transform the role they play in the wellbeing and development of their societies, sustainability is a key issue. Long-term sustainability depends on transforming the institutions enough or their societies to appreciate the new role and thus further support the capacity building process. A long-term time frame is also needed since quality takes time to develop. Long-term funding commitments enable the institutions to plan with certainty and also to overcome challenges that may arise. Local ownership also implies that recipients in turn have to commit to implementing better policies to use aid better and more transparently. In higher education anchoring capacity building projects in the HEIs in the South is seen as a means of assuring sustainability. Furthermore, South- South cooperation is encouraged to enable sharing of results and good practice and thus further spread deepen the effect of capacity building measures (Wield 1997, p. 46).

3. METHODOLOGY

Methods of social research are closely tied to different visions of how social reality should be studied. Methods are not simply neutral tools: they are linked with the ways in which social scientists envision the connection between different viewpoints about the nature of social reality and how it should be examined. Secondly, research data are invariably collected in relation to something. The 'something' can be a burning social problem or, usually, a theory (Bryman 2004, p. 4).

3.1 RESEARCH DESIGN

This qualitative study was conducted through an interpretative case study research design. A case study is a research design where the researcher undertakes an intensive, descriptive and holistic analysis of a single entity or a bounded case. Studying a single case in depth enables the researcher to gain insight into larger cases and also to be able to explain and predict related phenomenon. In a case study, the background, progression, present conditions and interactions of individuals, groups or institutions is observed, recorded and analyzed for stages of patterns in relation to internal and external influences (Cohen, Manion & Morrison 2007, p. 253; Oso & Onen 2008, p. 71). This design allowed for the study to interrogate the different meanings that groups or individuals involved in North-South cooperation in higher education assigned to concepts such as capacity building, partnership and development, and how these conceptualizations influence the success or failure of such efforts in ultimately promoting the role of higher education in fostering development (Cohen, Manion & Morrison 2007, p. 24). The researcher decided to use this design since a case study is ideal for studies such as this where in-depth information is required from rich sources. Moreover, case study data is "strong in reality" and thus provides a natural basis for generalization (Cohen, Manion & Morrison 2007, p. 256). This is a trait that is expected to be valuable to this study since its overall aim is to study conceptualization of higher education's role in development and its application in North-South cooperation aimed at strengthening higher education institutions in the South to meet challenges of development. Thus, the findings of this study regarding NOMA can be generalized to other instances and hopefully provide insights into best practice.

Moreover, case studies recognize the complexity of social truths thus, by carefully scrutinizing a certain instance, can provide an impartial view about discrepancies or conflicts in viewpoints of interested parties. This can thus provide help in solving problems faced or providing alternative interpretations. This is a again a valuable trait in this study, since it would help uncover any misconstrued notions regarding the role higher education can play in fostering development. Furthermore, it can help present the view points of the North and South and hopefully enable create understanding and rapprochement between both parties, not only in the instance being studied here but in the general milieu (Cohen, Manion & Morrison 2007, p. 256; Bryman 2004, p. 298).

3.2 POPULATION OF THE STUDY

Population is the entire group of individuals, firms, plants or things that have one or more characteristics in common that are of interest to the study (Cohen, Manion & Morrison 2007, p. 100; Bryman, 2004). The population of this study included the course coordinators of the 17 NOMA Masters programs currently running in sub-Saharan African countries.

NOMA aims at providing financial support to develop and run Master Degree Programs in the South through collaboration between Southern and Norwegian Higher Education Institutions (HEIs). The program is financed by the Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (NORAD) and managed by the Centre for Internationalization of Higher Education in Norway (SIU). NOMA has a budget of NOK 343 million.

The overall objectives of NOMA, as listed in the Project Document are,

- To support the development of Master programs at higher education institutions in the South through close collaboration with higher education institutions in Norway, in accordance with national needs.
- To achieve, in a longer term perspective, sustainable capacity of institutions in the South to provide the national workforce with adequate qualifications within selected academic fields of study.
- To stimulate South-South-North cooperation through supporting the development of regional Master programs.
- To enhance gender equality in all program activities.

- To strengthen and further develop the competence of Norwegian higher education institutions to integrate global, as well as developmental perspectives, in their professional work.

Based on Norwegian priorities and identified needs of the cooperating countries in the South, the following eligible academic fields have been elected for the current program period; education; environment, economic development and trade; gender; health; HIV/AIDS; oil and energy; good governance, democratic development, human rights and migration; peace and conflict resolution

The countries which are Norway's main partner countries for development aid are listed in the Project Document as eligible for support by NOMA are Bangladesh, Nicaragua, Bolivia, Tanzania, Malawi, Uganda, Mozambique, Zambia and Nepal. Other developing countries may also be included in the program at NORAD's discretion. In the current program period, such countries would have to be able to further Norwegian contribution to peace and conflict resolution and have relevance for rebuilding of society after conflict. Moreover, they should be countries whose competence and capacity within higher education and research enable them to assist and cooperate with countries within the region meeting the criteria outlined above.

3.3 SAMPLING

3.3.1 Sample

Cohen, Manion & Morrison (2007, p. 100) defines a sample as "a smaller group or subset of a total population in such a way that the knowledge gained is representative of the total population under study". Patton (2002, p.244) recommends that sample size depends on what a researcher wants to know, the purpose of the inquiry, what is at stake, what will be useful, what will have credibility, and what can be done with available time and resources. The study intended to include twenty-one respondents from the target population. The sample of twenty course coordinators was selected from the course coordinators of NOMA Master Programs based in sub-Saharan Africa or are otherwise focused at the same region. These course coordinators were chosen since they would be in the best position to elaborate to the researcher on issues regarding the implementation and running of the NOMA program

as they were the ones in charge of day to day running of the Master programs. In the case of the course coordinators, no sampling strategy was necessary, as the whole population was accessible and small enough to be included in the study in its entirety. The researcher also chose a source person from Norad (Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation). The researcher chose a person who was closely involved in the development and implementation of the NOMA program since the researcher deemed this individual to have valuable information that would be vital in answering the research questions.

In this study, four respondents were interviewed and twenty questionnaires were in addition distributed. Only six questionnaires were returned, giving a response rate of 30 per cent. Although this was a low response rate, the researcher considered it sufficient to continue with analysis. Furthermore, data regarding non-respondents was also available from the NOMA Annual Report for 2007 and the individual Annual Master Program Reports thus the non-response did not unduly affect data collection and analysis. However, this meant that in analysis regarding information that could only be obtained from the course coordinators, only data from the six respondents would be used.

3.3.2 Sampling Techniques

Purposive Sampling

In purposive sampling, the researcher handpicks the cases to be included in the sample on the basis of their judgment of the typicality or possession of characteristics sought after and central to the inquiry thus creating a sample that is suitable for their specific needs (Cohen et al 2007, p. 114).

Much as purposive sampling is deliberately selective and biased, Patton (2002, p. 230) states that the logic and suitability of purposeful sampling lies in selecting information-rich cases for study in depth. Information-rich cases are those from which one can obtain valuable information pertinent to the issues of central importance to the study. Furthermore, purposive sampling is used as a means of accessing "knowledgeable persons" who may have in-depth information about a particular topic by virtue of their professional roles, power or experience (Cohen et al 2007, p. 115).

Purposive sampling was used to select the respondent from Norad who would answer the questionnaire sent to the institution. The respondent had to be someone who was knowledgeable about the design and implementation of the NOMA program and who was

involved in the whole process. The selected respondent, by virtue of their professional position, was closely involved in the NOMA program and was deemed to be in a position to provide the researcher with valuable information. Thus purposive sampling was suitable in selecting such a respondent.

Convenience sampling

Convenience sampling involves the researcher picking the nearest or most convenient individuals to serve as respondents and continuing the process until a satisfactory sample size has been achieved. The researcher thus picks a sample from those to whom he or she has easy access to. In seeking to enhance the validity and reliability of data obtained from the course coordinators by means of questionnaires, the researcher conducted three interviews. These interviews would serve as a means to cross-check the data collected by questionnaire to ensure it is consistent with the testimony of the coordinators obtained by interview. The researcher chose the three coordinators to be interviewed by convenience since he was in the country where they were located (Uganda) and thus they were the most easily available group. Selecting a bigger sample would have involved great cost, thus was not a viable option. As the sample does not represent any group apart from itself, it does not seek to generalize about a wider population thus the negligible parameters of generalizability in this sample is not a weakness (Cohen et. al. 2007, p. 114).

3.4 DATA COLLECTION

3.4.1 Questionnaires

Questionnaires are a form of survey methodology. They were the main data collection instrument in this study. Questionnaires are questions presented in written format that respondents are expected to respond to (Cozby 2007, p. 134). The questionnaires were used to collect data from NOMA course coordinators. Piloting the questionnaire served to increase the reliability and validity of the questionnaires. Piloting took place twice, once with role-playing fellow students, and the second time with two course coordinator who were willing to participate in the piloting. After the piloting, the questionnaire was refined and questions which proved redundant or ambiguous were deleted or modified.

In this study, all questionnaires were administered remotely through the Internet via email. This was necessitated by the large distances between the researcher and respondents and also a desire to avoid postage costs, which might have discouraged the respondents from sending back the questionnaire. The respondents were mostly educated and expected to be versed in ICT and with access to the Internet as part of their jobs, thus technological challenges were not expected in using this form of distribution. Moreover, questionnaires can be used for sensitive topics which might be uncomfortable for the respondent or might require anonymity (Cohen et al 2007, p. 319).

In using questionnaires, the researcher was aware of their weaknesses. The greatest disadvantage of questionnaires is the non-response bias. Out of the twenty questionnaires sent to the NOMA course coordinators, only six were returned. The researcher attempted to follow up the respondents but was ultimately unable to convince the rest to reply. Respondents may also choose not to answer, or may answer certain questions and ignore others, thus leading to incomplete data and possibly disqualifying their responses. The researcher followed this up when it happened in one instance but was unable to obtain a response. The only way to combat this non-response bias is to make the questionnaire as non-threatening as possible by providing a concise introduction through a cover letter stating what the research is about, how the date will be analyzed and used and by whom. This can allay fears over confidentiality and privacy. The researcher provided a cover letter with his questionnaire (Cohen, Manion & Morrison 2007, p.320).

3.4.2 Interviews

Cannel and Kahn (1968) (cited in Cohen, Manion & Morrison 2007, p.251) define a research interview as a two-person conversation initiated by the interviewer for the purpose of obtaining research-relevant information, and focused by him/her on content specified by given research objectives. The interview method was employed mainly as a reference to crosscheck data obtained from questionnaires distributed to course coordinators of the NOMA Master programs. Moreover, a source person from NOMA was interviewed to crosscheck information gained form document review and also to answer lingering questions that the researcher needed first-hand information about. The researcher chose three course coordinators to be interviewed through convenience sampling and the questions in the interview were to a large extent related to the questions in the questionnaire. The interviews

were thus meant to complement and cross check information from the questionnaires in order to maximize validity and reliability of the data. Interviews with course coordinators were conducted in February 2009 whereas the interview with the source person from Norad was conducted much later in October 2009. This was to enable the researcher to develop a clear picture of the research process and determine which gaps in his knowledge could be filled by the Norad respondent.

All the interviews were conducted face to face and the researcher took notes during the interview. The data obtained was organized and analyzed according to the research objectives. Organizing qualitative data (for later analysis) by research question is useful in that it groups all the data into relevant groupings and creates coherence in the data. This method is also useful when collating all the data from various instruments and data streams to provide a collective answer to the research question. In addition, the data was systematized for each particular research question to have numerical data first then qualitative data later as this enables patterns, relationships and comparisons across data typed to be explored conveniently (Cohen, Manion & Morrison 2007, p.468).

The interview method has its weaknesses. Interviews have been characterized as being unreliable, biased, time consuming, endangers anonymity and the inevitability of researcher effects. To mitigate the limitations inherent in use of the interview method, note taking was used to ensure accurate recording of pertinent data. Given that the sample to be interviewed was quite small, it did not consume much time and the researcher was able to sufficiently explain the objectives of the study to the respondents to mitigate researcher effect. Moreover, multiplicity of data collection instruments reduced the bias (Oso & Onen 2008, p. 84).

3.4.3 Document Review

Patton (2002, p.294) states that documents are valuable not only on account of what can be learned directly from them but also as stimulus for paths of inquiry that can be pursued later through other data collection instruments. Document review involves critical examination of public and private recorded information related to the main issue being pursued by the researcher. Document review is used to obtain data unobtrusively and without affecting the researched.

Documentary review was considered important in connection to this study, since data obtained through document review has already been carefully reviewed, edited and packaged in an efficient and easy-to-use form. Any official publications would have been professionally edited and this would provide the researcher with information directly and easily. Moreover it would provide the researcher with the respondents' fixed opinion on the issues under exploration, since publication of the documents would in themselves be an affirmation of the views expressed in the document as being truly the respondents' opinions and meanings associated with the concepts under investigation (Oso & Onen 2008, p. 85).

Documentary review was considered necessary tool for data collection because there was a need to study the policy documents and reports regarding NOMA. The documents published regarding NOMA were an important source of information regarding the design and implementation processes of the program and offered pertinent data in great detail. Documentary review was also an important tool in enabling the researcher to distinguish between intents purported in the policy documents and the reality faced in the implementation process More often than not, the implementation process involves revisions and changes to accommodate issues and challenges that arise during the process. Thus, studying documents provided a context in which to explore these changes that arose and decipher what circumstances brought them up. This is achieved through studying initial policy statements (the NOMA Program Document and related documents) and implementation reports (NOMA Annual Reports). Moreover, the researcher compared data obtained from the coordinators who were deeply involved in the implementation process. This provided the best framework for studying differences in opinions and conceptualizations between the North and South since most of those involved in the design and in writing the initial reports were form the North whereas the coordinators were from the South. The researcher established the documents that would prove most relevant to the study. A list of the documents reviewed is attached in the appendix.

The documents were all sourced from SIU, which is the agency contracted by NORAD to manage the NOMA program. Some documents were freely available from the internet, whereas other had to be requested by the researcher form the NOMA team at SIU.

Research objective	Source of data	Data collection instrument
Rationale for initiation of NOMA	NOMA/SIU/Norad publications Norad source person	Document review Interview
How NOMA strengthens African HEIs to deal with development challenges	NOMA/ SIU publications NOMA course coordinators	Document review Questionnaire Interview
Gaps evident in the design and implementation of the NOMA program	NOMA / SIU publications NOMA course coordinators	Questionnaire Document review
Challenges faced in implementation of the NOMA program	NOMA course coordinators NOMA/ SIU publications	Questionnaire Interview Document review

Table 3. 1: Summary of data collection methods and instruments in relation to objectives

3.5 VALIDITY AND RELIABILITY

The researcher can mitigate threats to validity and reliability by attention to the validity and reliability of data collected and analysis methods throughout the research process. Validity is vital in conducting effective research since it determines how useful a piece of research will finally be. In qualitative research, the in subjectivity of respondents usually lowers validity to an extent. Validity can be addressed through the depth of data obtained, the participants approached and their congruence with the study's research questions, the extent of triangulation and the objectivity of the researcher (Cohen, Manion & Morrison 2007, p. 133). Reliability, as pertains to qualitative research, refers to the extent to which the data obtained and the analyzed results reflect the 'truth'. Reliability mostly depends on the researcher ensuring his objectivity in the whole research process from data collection to analysis. The researcher attempted at all times to pursue this goal. Moreover, if validity is ensured, it is more likely that the research will be "truthful" thus this avenue was also pursued (Cohen, Manion & Morrison 2007, p. 149).

Triangulation is the use of one or more data collection methods in the study of an aspect of human behavior or interaction. Triangular techniques in social science try to map out and fully explain human behavior and interaction richly by studying it from multiple perspectives. This is important in qualitative studies where the research methods act as filter through which the environment is selectively experienced. Reliance on one method will bias the researcher's viewpoint. The researcher used triangulation through usage of different data collection techniques to collect data (Cohen, Manion & Morrison 2007, p. 143).

The researcher was careful to ensure validity by generally ensuring the whole research process conformed to standard guidelines for ensuring quality of research is not interfered with. This included guidelines from lectures and authoritative textbooks. Piloting of data collection instruments is another vital tool in ensuring reliability and validity. The tools were pre-tested and piloted as described in the relevant sections discussing the actual data collection instruments (Cohen, Manion & Morrison 2007, p. 157).

3.6 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Ethical considerations are of paramount importance when planning a research study first to protect the integrity of the research process and the data obtained through it (Cohen et. al. 2007, p. 70). First, the researcher obtained a research permit from the University of Oslo (Appendix 7.8). The letter stated that the student is a bona fide member of the student community and is pursuing research towards specified ends. This was useful in enabling informed consent to the research process and its goals by the respondent and also in obtaining other relevant official documents such as visas and research permits.

To obtain informed consent, the researcher provided an exhaustive explanation of the objectives and the purpose of the study and thereafter sought permission from the respondents. The respondents were required to sign a consent form (Appendix 7.6). The consent form was attached in the same email as the questionnaire. During the interviews, the respondents were requested to give consent and sign the form before the interview. To protect the respondents' privacy, the data was handled and stored in a manner that wouldn't jeopardize their trust in the researcher.

4. RESEARCH FINDINGS

4.1 RATIONALE FOR INITIATION OF NOMA .

4.1.1 A Changing Development Cooperation Agenda

The need for establishment of NOMA arose out of a change in Norway's agenda for development cooperation. In the early 90's Norad adopted a "recipient responsibility" orientation which aimed at giving more responsibility to stakeholders in the South. This meant that all development cooperation efforts would be made in conjunction with the South partners to support home-grown efforts at reducing poverty and that North-based fellowship programs would be abandoned in favour of programs which were based in and partly developed by the Southern partners. Furthermore, a policy shift at the political level led to the development of a new development cooperation policy, a policy that had far reaching effects for cooperation in higher education and research. The Norwegian government aims to integrate its development priorities in all aspects of its development policy. In 1999, the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs released White Paper No. 33 (1999) paper titled "Strategy for strengthening higher education and research in the context of Norway's relations with developing countries". This paper broadly outlined the new direction that development cooperation in higher education was to take, and involved the introduction of a development aspect into all forms of cooperation in higher education.

Norway's development policy is outlined in the White Paper No. 35 (2003-2004) titled "Fighting poverty together: A comprehensive development policy". Norwegian aid is based on the principle that development is in essence a pursuit of the human rights agenda. Norwegian development policy aims to create an environment that empowers individuals and societies to pursue their own future. The paper also recognizes that developing societies need to take the driver's seat in efforts to promote development and aims to build partnerships to pursue its development goals. The notion of relevance is also given due importance. The paper stresses that Norwegian development policy should strive to reflect the needs of the partner countries.

In 2008, a White Paper titled ”Samstemt for utvikling: White paper on Norwegian development policy in the future NOU 2008:14” was presented to the Norwegian Parliament (Storting). The White paper reaffirms that the purpose of Norwegian development cooperation is to contribute *lasting improvements* in economic, social and political conditions for the populations of developing countries. It suggests integration of research and higher education in development policy and sees targeted knowledge-building in the South as a prerequisite for developing countries to enable them to escape poverty. It sees investment in basic education and vocational education as a pathway to high quality higher education rather than an end in itself, as has been the tradition in the past.

These developments were very influential in changing the Norwegian approach to intervention, leading to the adoption of NOMA which is seen as capable of integrating this development aspect into cooperation in higher education.

4.1.2 The Changing Role of Higher Education

Even during the eighties when higher education was out of favour, Norad still provided support to higher education, especially through fellowship programs and collaborations. Norwegian development policy has however changed with time and now emphasises the newly acknowledged role of higher education as an engine of the knowledge economy. Norwegian policy aims at capacity building to enable the universities to fulfil their developmental role in their home societies. Norad’s specific terms of reference, as far as support to higher education is concerned, is to use it as a tool to combat poverty and inequality in the South through promoting good governance, social welfare, economic development and equity in resource and opportunity distribution. NOMA reflects this policy and aims to successfully exploit the link between higher education and development.

4.1.3 Changing Framework Conditions

Given increasing globalisation, higher education is becoming increasingly internationalised. Higher education has become a global issue and even a commodity through cross-border education. Norwegian higher education however is not so vibrant on the international scene and thus stakeholders in Norway are keen to promote internationalisation at all levels. For Norwegian universities, engagement with universities in the South provides many opportunities. It contributes to internationalisation of teaching, learning and research at

Norwegian higher education while also giving Norwegian students and university staff and opportunity to engage in academic work and research on development in the context of North-South relationships. ICT advancements make this much easier than it would have been decades ago. The White Paper No. 33 lays out a strategy for internationalisation of Norwegian higher education through research and other collaborations with universities in the South. NOMA is thus tasked with furthering this objective. NOMA offers financial incentives to Norwegian universities to enable them focus on this goal.

Massification in the South means that there is a growing unmet demand for HE. Norwegian development policy aims at increasing access to higher education in the South, especially for minorities and women. However, given that study in the North is quite expensive and can only be granted to fewer students, there was a need to develop a program that was more efficient financially. Thus, NOMA aims at providing more access in the South, where it is considerably cheaper to provide scholarships and places. Moreover, conditions of the program ensure that the admission process gives access to minorities and women.

The issue of brain drain is also one of the challenges that prompted a re-evaluation of traditional approaches and led to introduction of NOMA. Fellowship programs have one weakness in that some students do not return to their countries of origin after their studies. Thus, they contribute actively in promoting brain drain furthermore, mobility was previously only one way (to the North), thus further decreasing the scholars available to teach and conduct research. By being entrenched in the South, the NOMA program was aimed at keeping the scholars and students in the South where they could benefit from interaction with the North but still be able to contribute to their countries development. Furthermore, NOMA promoted brain gain by enabling Southern institutions to make use of resources and knowledge from the North through the partnerships and adapt it to their settings.

4.1.4 The NFP Evaluation

Evaluation of NFP prompted critical look at whether Norwegian development aid had any effect. The NFP evaluation showed deficiencies in the program. The terms of Reference for the evaluation laid out five criteria upon which NFP would be judged. These criteria were its relevance (the extent to which it was consistent with development cooperation objectives), effectiveness (the extent to which major objectives were achieved at country and program level), efficiency (the extent to which administrative and financial arrangements contributed

to achieving program objectives), sustainability (continuation of programs as normal anchored courses at the universities) and the impact (change agent impact especially as regards development and Norwegian objectives in partner countries).

Although the evaluation was somewhat positive as to the achievements of the program, the overall assessment was that NFP had lost its development relevance and should pursue new ways of integrating Norwegian development policy into its operation. This was due to a multitude of reasons. The program was seen as having no objective way of assessing development needs of Southern partners and thus could not effectively serve them. Thus, the program had become a supply-driven program with no transparent link to the demands of developing countries. Moreover, the program was not able to achieve critical mass, which would be essential in achieving the change agent effect that was originally hoped for. Thus, NFP failed to achieve the criteria set out for the evaluation.

Several recommendations were made by the evaluation team. These included strengthening the development relevance, moving the program closer to the South in terms of delivery and cooperation, focusing on needs of Southern partners and giving them a larger role in the program, establishing multi-year cooperation agreements to give time for the change agent effect, to provide fellowships for study in the South and to promote South- South collaboration, among others. These recommendations were a key impulse in the introduction of NOMA. Since the NFP as it was could not deliver these new targets, there was a reorganisation of the program and NOMA was initiated. NOMA was designed to fulfil all those criteria that NFP had failed to deliver in.

4.2 NOMA SUPPORT TO HIGHER EDUCATION

NOMA is an intervention at both individual and institutional level. The fellowship program is at individual level, aimed at funding certain individuals to pursue master courses that would enable them to return to their professional capacities and contribute to better performance in the sector. These fellowships are different in the sense that they fund the students to study at institutions in the South. Moreover, the fellowships are tied to the student having been previously employed and taking a course related to their previous job and this enables them to return to their sector with increased knowledge and capacities that would hopefully contribute to better performance. NOMA also intervenes at institutional

level by providing financial and other aid to establish joint Masters degrees between institutions in the South and institutions in the North.

NOMA offers training, partnerships and technical assistance. The scholarships form a training component. The joint degrees are in essence a partnership between the institutions in the South and North. Moreover, NOMA offers technical assistance in administrative issues and implementation. NOMA's administrative arrangements are a reflection of the need to separate policy making from administration and implementation. Norad has overall policymaking control, following policy directions from the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. SIU is in charge of administrative has financial oversight whereas the partnerships are in charge of the implementation process and reporting.

4.2.1 The NOMA Portfolio

A major concern of donors in higher education is how to integrate Southern universities in the global production of knowledge, thus leading to intensive efforts to develop capacity in graduate education, research and academic networking. The Norwegian government through NORAD has been active in efforts to enhance the competence and capacity of HEIs in the South and has funded the Norad Fellowship Program (NFP) from 1965 to 2005 and NOMA's first phase from 2006 to 2010.The NFP is being phased out in line with changing Norwegian priorities in development cooperation, given that Norway aims at building capacity in the Southern countries themselves, as opposed to the NFP format which provided scholarships for students from the South to study in Norway. The NFP program was aimed at providing students from the South an opportunity to pursue diploma and Master programs at universities in Norway. Moreover, it also had an objective to internationalize higher education institutions in Norway and develop research competence in various fields in Norwegian universities.

NOMA was officially ushered in 2006. SIU was made responsible for the implementation and running of the program. NORAD is responsible for the overall policy, under advisement from the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. NOMA is governed by a Program Board composed of representatives from HEIs in Norway and HEIs in participating countries and an observer from NORAD. The Board oversees issues regarding quality, project assessment and future expansion whereas NORAD has overall financial oversight

through a joint biannual consultative meeting with SIU. In April 2006, NOMA published its first call for applications for grants to set up NOMA Master Programs with reference to the terms of the agreement between SIU and NORAD and of the NOMA Program Document.

NOMA Master Programs are developed as a collaborative partnership between HEIs in Norway and HEIs in the South. OECD (2006) identifies three types of cross-border education; distance education, which involves standardized curriculum with limited or no face-to-face communication; partner supported delivery, which involves cooperation between two or more HEIs either as full partners or not and lastly a full branch campus. NOMA falls in the category of partner-supported delivery. NOMA is centered on a decentralized model for initiation, implementation and monitoring. Thus each partner institution is expected to be equal to each other and fully involved and committed in the program. The Master programs are to eventually be fully anchored within the institutional governance and strategic plans of the HEIs in the South. Universities in Norway have to be accredited by the Norwegian Association of Higher Education Institutions (UHR) in Norway and universities in the South have to be accredited by the national agencies. The programs are open to all students in principle, but only students from NOMA countries are eligible for scholarships. Students have to be employed and receive a leave of absence from their employers. The study programs are expected to be hosted at HEIs in the South, but select modules can be held in Norway or other partner countries as a way of enhancing exchange.

In the call for applications, a Master degree program was defined as "a Master degree program eligible for support under the NOMA Program should have a full-time workload over two academic year's equivalent to 120 credits according to the European Credit Transfer System (ECTS)". The subject area of the Master programs had to fall within the eight thematic areas of NOMA. The institutions were expected to apply according o guidelines given by SIU in the call for applications. The application had to be signed by the heads of all applying institutions as a sign of institutional commitments to support the Master program with basic resources and infrastructure and also any help in achieving accreditation. Applications were divided into two categories. Bilateral Master programs running over two or four years (implying one or two student cohorts) would apply for allocations between NOK 2.25 and NOK 4.5 million. Bilateral implied programs between a HEI in Norway and a HEI in the South. Multilateral Master programs running over two or four years (implying one or two student cohorts) would apply for allocations between NOK

3 million and NOK 6 million. For the start-up year 2007, 10 Master programs in Africa were granted NOMA status and received allocations as shown in Table 4.1.

Country	Program title	Bilateral or Multilateral	Coordinating University in Africa	Partner university in Norway	Allocation in NOK
Angola	Angolan-Norwegian Higher Education Initiative	B	Agostinho Neto University	Norwegian University of Science and Technology	4 227 286
Malawi	Master of Arts in Political Science	B	University of Malawi	University of Bergen	4 441 546
South Africa Uganda	Higher Education Master in Africa	M	University of the Western Cape	University of Oslo	6 000 000
Sudan	Master in International Education & Development	B	Ahfad University for Women	Oslo University College	5 978 571
Tanzania **South Africa**	Master Program in Health Policy & Management	M	Muhimbili University College of Health Sciences	University of Bergen	5 832 857
Tanzania Ethiopia	Sandwich program M.Med. & M.Sc. in Clinical Medicine	M	Muhimbili University College of Health Sciences	University of Bergen	5 997 350
Tanzania Ethiopia Uganda	Integrated Masters in Health Information Systems	M	University of Dar es Salaam	University of Oslo	5 530 299
Uganda Tanzania Mozambique Malawi	Master in Sustainable Energy Systems in East Africa	M	Makerere University	Norwegian University of Science and Technology	6 000 000
Uganda	M.Sc. in Development & Natural Resource Economics	B	Makerere University	Norwegian University of Life Sciences	6 000 000

Table 4.1: NOMA Master Programs commencing in 2007 (http://www.siu.no/en/Programme-overview/NOMA/Allocations)

In the year 2008, another 10 programs in Africa received NOMA Master status and received allocations as indicated in Table 4.2.

Main Partner Country	Program title	Bilateral or Multilateral	University (s) in Africa	Partner university in Norway	Allocation in NOK
Egypt Tanzania	M.Sc. in International Transport & Logistics for East Africa	M	Arab Academy for Science, Technology and Maritime Transport	Molde University College	6 000 000
Ethiopia	M.Sc. in Mathematical & Statistical Modeling	B	Hawassa University	Norwegian University of Science and Technology	3 776 416
Ethiopia	Masters in Urban Development & Urban Challenges in East Africa	B	Addis Ababa University	Norwegian University of Science and Technology	4 455 000
Malawi	Master in Health & Information Systems	B	University of Malawi	University of Oslo	4 500 000
Mozambique	Applied Marine Sciences for Sustainable Management of Natural Resources	B	Eduardo Mondlane University	University of Bergen	4 464 206
Sudan	Master in Physical & Chemical Oceanography	B	Red Sea University	University of Bergen	4 499 000
Tanzania Zambia Botswana	Master in Mathematical Modeling	M	University of Dar es Salaam	University of Oslo	5 342 750
Uganda Sudan	Master in Vocational Pedagogy	M	Kyambogo University	Akershus University College	5 718 628
Uganda Ethiopia Kenya	Master in Urban Transformation & Sustainable Development	M	Makerere University	The Oslo School of Architecture and Design	4 037 585
Zambia Namibia	Master in Education. Literacy & Learning	M	University of Zambia	Hedmark University College	5 942 062
Zambia	Master of Science in Clinical Neuropsychology	B	University of Zambia	Norwegian University of Science and Technology	3 500 000

Table 4.2: NOMA Master Programs commencing in 2008 (http://www.siu.no/en/Programme-overview/NOMA/Allocations)

NOMA has three categories of countries that can participate in the program. There are NOMA partner countries, which in Africa are Malawi, Zambia, Tanzania, Uganda and

Mozambique. Some countries are included in the program given that Norway can contribute towards rebuilding their societies after conflicts and civil strife, and in Africa these are Sudan, Ethiopia and Angola. Lastly there are some countries that are seen as having adequate competence in higher education and can contribute to South-South collaboration and these include South Africa and Egypt. However, in the spirit of promoting regional collaboration, other countries are involved in the programs but not as main partners.

Given that NOMA is a successor program to NFP, there is expected to be a smooth progression from one to the other. The last NFP students are expected to graduate in June 2008. The first NOMA students began their studies in 2007 and are expected to graduate in 2009. All institutions in the consortium are expected to be jointly responsible for reporting the progress of the program. They are expected to submit annual progress reports. The reports are in two forms, an Annual Master Program Report and an Annual Institutional report. The Annual Master Program report encompasses the whole program and all partners, whereas the institutional report focuses on each partner institution and how it is progressing in achieving indicators of success. All reports are made publicly available on SIU's website.

Of the six coordinators who responded to the questionnaire, two reported that they had experienced deviations from the implementation plan due to local conditions. The Higher Education Master in Africa was initially planned to begin in 2007 with a cohort of four students but because of delayed accreditation procedures, it started in 2008 with both cohorts lumped together. The Master of Arts Health Policy and Management also experienced delays due to very few applications from qualified applicants from eligible NOMA countries. The coordinator attributed this to inadequate advertisement of the program.

4.2.2 NOMA's Thematic Areas

NOMA lists eight thematic areas (see section 3.2) which are based on Norwegian priorities and competence and are supposed to reflect the identified needs of the developing countries involved in the program. The NOMA Program Document lists these thematic areas as themes to which Norway can contribute effectively to due to its competence in such fields. Furthermore, they are said to be in line with the priorities of developing countries. Given that Norwegian development policy calls for Southern leadership in choice of priorities, it seems counterproductive that Norway would choose its own priorities in the

projects. However, issues on national needs tend to be controversial and without objective measurement. The question of national needs can be approached form two perspectives. First regarding its relevance and usefulness and secondly as to whether NOMA should address the national needs of the countries involved. It can also encompass the aspect of how to or whether to involve national authorities in the South.

All nations have their needs, and have to prioritize public spending according to the urgency or political expediency of such needs. In most developing countries, states are unable to meet all urgent national needs, thus necessitating donor interventions. Defining national needs is a contentious process and begs the question of who is competent and suitable to define such needs. National needs are usually documented in national plans and strategies by governments. These could include Strategic Plan, PSRPs and other myriad national publications. But given the failure of governments in most developing countries to provide even basic services due to corruption and mismanagement, civil society, scientists, academics and the private sector disputes the legitimacy of the governments to define national needs. Political, ethnic or regional divides also worsen the situation. In education, academics would like to prioritize what they consider to be important, and this may clash with the steering bodies such as the Ministry of Education who are considered legitimate authorities in setting goals and defining needs for the education sector.

In donor aid, the issue is complicated by the fact that each country has its own perspectives on national needs and variations abound. Moreover, there are also international standards such as the MDGs which form a framework for donor aid and are usually integrated into national documents. However, the overall goal in development policy should be fostering development and thus donors need to find a suitable framework for their investments in developing countries. These frameworks should be developed in cooperation with the recipient countries and reflect their priorities. As far as NOMA is concerned, a prioritized national need would be to increase the availability of skilled and educated human capacity in various sectors. This can be considered to be a valid national need in most developing countries given their chronic shortage of manpower in various key fields.

However, caution should be exercised in selecting which sectors to develop human capacity or given that there is a glut of labor in certain fields. Fields can be selected by consensus, in that if a particular sector is seen to lack competent personnel, then that can be selected as a viable national need. This is evident in Africa in the health sector, where brain drain ahs contributed to very few medical personnel to serve the needs of a continent with the highest disease burden in the world. NOMA should try to address national needs thus

ensuring that their programs are demand-driven in the South. However, in reality, certain restrictions are placed upon this ambition. Given that the Norwegian state might have its own priorities and realities of inter-state relations might also affect how the program operates, the extent to which the program can address national needs is limited by circumstances. It can thus be argued that the eight thematic areas of NOMA are valid and represent national needs given that they represent what can be said to be some of Africa's urgent needs as far as development is concerned and given the reality that Norway would like to pursue its own priorities in which it feels competent to contribute to.

Of the eight main thematic areas there is a stronger presence in the field of environment and economic development; with eight out of 20 projects in this field. This is attributable to the fact that it is a theme that encompasses a wide area but is also as a key area in capacity building. Given that the partners in the South were able to choose which field to apply for; this could be an indicator of the priorities of the institutions in the South.

Field of study	**Supported**
Education	4
Environment, economic development and trade	8
Gender	Modules in some programmes
Good governance, democratic development, human rights and migration	1
Health	5
HIV/AIDS	Modules in some programmes
Oil and energy	2
Peace and conflict resolution	-
Total	**20**

Table 4.3: Distribution of NOMA programs in the eight thematic areas

Health is the second most applied for field, with four programs. An interesting fact is that some of these projects are in countries with high HIV prevalence rates and this could imply a willingness by the universities to contribute towards tackling this pervasive health problem. Thus, although there is no Master program within the thematic field of HIV/AIDS *per se*, it is clear that this is a cross-cutting theme. It is the main thrust of the Master of Science in Clinical Neuropsychology, which aims at building capacity to deal with neuropsychological problems of AIDS sufferers. This thematic field can also be addressed through provision of training and course sensitizing students and staff regarding the dangers of HIV/AIDS and how it affects them and their societies. The Master in health Policy and

management also includes modules aimed at development and management of national health policy regarding HIV/AIDS.

Education is represented by four projects. Education is an important field to African development, both basic and higher education and thus can be said to be a crucial national need. Oil and energy is represented by two projects. One project in Angola which aims at building capacity in the petroleum sector, a very relevant field since Angola is a big oil producer and the field is seriously short of manpower and depends on technical expertise from abroad. The other project is on sustainable energy systems in East Africa, a very relevant project, since East Africa is plagued by dependence on non-renewable energy sources, most of which have to be imported. Furthermore, there is a problem with usage of firewood, which is the main energy source for most rural populations and this is leading to increased desertification due to cutting down of forest for charcoal and wood. This in turn affects agriculture which is the economic mainstay of East African countries. Thus, the program, which aims at providing leadership and policy making in choosing alternative energy sources addresses a pertinent regional need.

The field comprising good governance and human rights is very relevant to the African condition. The World Bank argues that good governance and respect for human rights is very essential to sustainable development. In Africa, given its track record regarding corruption and dictatorships, this is a pertinent national need. In the NOMA portfolio, it is only represented by one program in the Master in Political Science.

There is also no program specifically dealing with gender studies in the NOMA portfolio. However, gender is also a cross-cutting theme in all aspects of the program. Moreover, gender equality is one of the main objectives of the NOMA program. The program aims to address gender equality through three perspectives; gender mainstreaming in all program activities; gender balance among students and gender balance among staff.

The state of mainstreaming gender and ensuring balance was as follows during the first year of the Master programs. The data has been derived from five respondents who answered the questionnaire. A sixth respondent gave unclear information and the researcher was unable to contact them in time to correct the information. It is obvious that there is a gender divide regarding application to perceived hard sciences and social sciences. The Master in Health Policy and Mangement and the HEMA program had overwhelmingly female applicants, fields which are mostly dominated by women (education and health). However the Master in Oceanography had more male applicants, as had the Master in International Transport and Logisitics

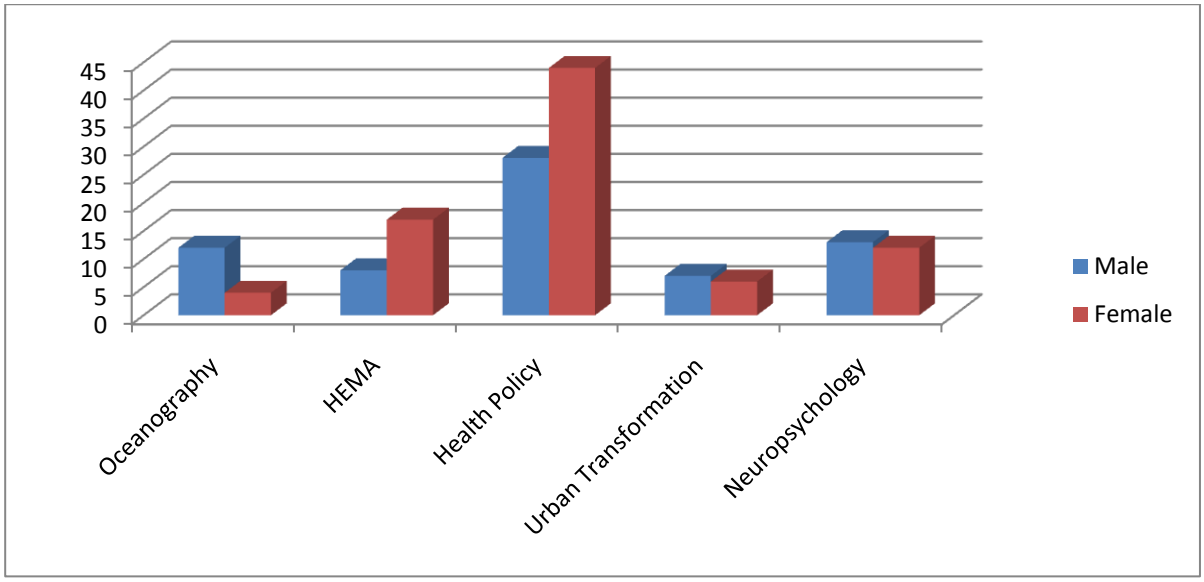


Fig 4.1: NOMA applicants by gender.

.However, it appears that overall, there were more female students admitted than male students to the five programs. In the five programs, there were a total of 24 admitted female students as opposed to 21 male students. This can be attributed to the efforts by the consortiums to favor female candidates. However, focusing on gender should not lead to compromising or quality, especially as regards favored status given to female candidates during recruitment. Quality should always be a major factor in selection of students. In all the Master programs, the academic staff is overwhelmingly male.

Master program	**Category**	**Male**	**Female**
Oceanography	Academic	12	6
	Administrative	6	1
HEMA	Academic	8	4
	Administrative	1	1
Heath policy and Management	Academic	14	5
	Administrative	3	2
Urban Transformation	Academic	8	7
	Administrative	2	1
Neuropsychology	Academic	10	5
	Administrative	-	2
TOTAL	Academic	52	27
	Administrative	12	7

Table 4.4: Distribution of NOMA staff by gender.

This thus indicates the need to further develop capacity among women and promote their participation in teaching staff. The administrative staff was also overwhelmingly male.

4.2.3 Higher Education Priority Areas

Cloete et al (2006, p. 16) identifies three broad categories and other sub-categories that form priority areas in support to higher education. Using these, we can identify the actual support that the NOMA program offers to higher education and how vital it is. Furthermore we can identify the areas that do not receive any support under the NOMA program. Admittedly the categories are broad thus no single program can realistically cover all of them. That is why coordination and synergy with other support programs is vital. Each category entails a detailed list of individual components that receive support. The categories are support for capacity building (change this to institutional development and use capacity building as overall term), provision of programs and facilities and policy. The table below details the priority areas and their individual components and whether NOMA addresses the categories. It is important to note that in the areas most vital to the knowledge society, that is access to knowledge resources, NOMA does not provide any explicit support.

PRIORITY AREAS	**NOMA SUPPORT**
SUPPORT FOR CAPACITY BUILDING	**YES**
Academic program development	NOMA supports development of collaborative Masters programs in the South
Human resource development	NOMA aims to expand human capacity in eight fields
Institutional capacity building	NOMA aims at exchange of good practice in administration and management between the consortium partners
Leadership and management	
Networks (academic exchange)	NOMA supports South-South and North-South academic cooperation and exchange. NOMA aims at promoting brain gain by taking scholars from the North to the South and also ensuring a flow of knowledge both ways, thus breaking the pattern of one way North-South flow of knowledge.
Networks (institutional cooperation)	NOMA programs require intensive collaboration between HEIs in the North and South
Networks (research)	NOMA promotes regional Master programs which are research based. Moreover, it grants start-up funds for research projects within the Master programs, especially South-South collaboration.

Quality enhancement	Inclusion of universities in the North as partners is seen as a quality assurance mechanism. These Northern partners are expected to ensure that the standards of NOMA Master programs are equivalent to accepted standards in the Norway. Moreover, the evaluation and reporting procedures instituted through SIU are expected to monitor and improve quality.
Student exchange (cross border education)	NOMA students are able to study for some modules in other partner universities in Norway or the South. NOMA aims at not only bringing students from the South to Norway, but also aims at getting Norwegian students to take modules at universities in the South.
PROVISION OF PROGRAMS AND FACILITIES	**YES**
Academic support (access, learning improvement)	NOMA aims at improving access for disadvantaged groups. Moreover, funding can be used at consortium's discretion to enhance the teaching-learning process
Distance education	
Gender programs	NOMA aims at mainstreaming gender throughout all program activities and also enhancing gender balance among staff and students. Programs are encouraged to integrate gender into program content. However, no specific master program on gender yet
HIV/AIDS	HIV/AIDS is one of the thematic areas of NOMA. It is integrated in some Master programs, but no master program specifically linked to this field yet.
ICT	Some programs focus on ICT and its application in various areas such as health and logistics.
Libraries	Consortiums are at discretion to use funding to upgrade libraries, but no earmarked NOMA funding for this.
Science and Technology (S&T)	Some programs are S&T focused, especially in terms of applications, engineering and research. However, there is no clear focus on S&T, which is arguably what Africa needs most, given that social sciences and humanities are comparably well-established. The Commission for Africa notes that appropriate S& T is essential for Africa's economic development and thus calls for establishment of centers of excellence at African universities to act as springboards for growth of science in Africa. Thus, NOMA does not provide for one of the core areas required to maximize higher education's contribution to development. Norad however argues that NOMA is meant to be a general

	capacity building program and thus a focus on S& T is not within its terms of reference. Moreover, S& T is seen as having a purely economic outcome, whereas NOMA is intended to promote holistic human development.
POLICY	**YES**
Dialogue and debate	NOMA has so far sponsored a conference in Mozambique in 2007 to address the issue of higher education's role in development.
Governance	
Higher education research and studies	NOMA has a Master program dedicated to study and research about higher education. Moreover, NOMA funds and promotes collaborative projects across Africa to foster research on higher education.

Table 4.5: NOMA support to higher education priority areas.

4.2.4 Effect Measurement

Given the investment of the Norwegian government through NOMA, there is a wish to assess the NOMA program and evaluate whether it is progressing towards its final objectives. Given there are two levels of evaluation, formative and summative, such assessment would be formative, since the NOMA program has just been recently established. The main aim would be to review adherence to the project plan, and find justification for any changes. Moreover, it would provide accountability for resources and activities. SIU plans to hold a mid-term review of NOMA in 2009 to assess the success of the implementation process and also to inform the design of a new program for the 2011-2015 phase when the current phase expires in 2010. Thus, there is a need to develop indicators upon which the program will be evaluated. Indicators for such intertwined and collaborative activities as NOMA is involved in are difficult to develop, given the complex nature of the outputs and results to be measured and also the multiplicity of actors in the process. The distributed and decentralized nature of NOMA as regards implementation, financial responsibility and reporting further deepens the quandary. Given that each partner university follows its national or institutional traditions and regulations, timing and legitimacy of the evaluation becomes a critical issue also. And with different national quality assurance systems and societal expectations, there are differing variations of what is considered "good" or "relevant" in every setting.

The aims of NOMA form a framework for developing indicators. The aims are clearly defined and are linked to specific controllable objectives. Moreover, there are clear guidelines for the cooperation especially as regards financial oversight and reporting, giving a clear line of sight in determining who is responsible for what. These factors make the process of developing indicators a bit clearer. Furthermore the NOMA projects were initially assessed as to their relevance to NOMA's program aims, thus further easing the task. Indicators for the NOMA program's assessment were developed by SIU, in consultation with the NOMA consortiums and partner institutions. A NOMA conference for program coordinators, held in 2008 in Dhaka, tackled the issue and gave panels of participants a chance to develop indicators. The suggestions of the coordinators and other participants were thus incorporated into the plan for indicators of success. This contributes towards the legitimacy of the indicators govern that the Southern stakeholders were given a voice in their development. This also ensures that the indicators are well understood within the programs to be assessed.

Evaluation involves assessment of performance in well-defined fields according to specified objectives. Regarding this, pertinent issues need to be defined and analyzed to form a basis for development of indicators. The NOMA program document states certain key issues that the program is meant to address and these would ideally form a basis for development of indicators. These issues are relevance, cooperation, anchoring and sustainability, academic quality, synergy, gender, equitable access, social change (development) and cost-efficiency. If all these factors are successfully addressed, then the program can be considered to have achieved its objectives.

Relevance involves an assessment of whether the Master program is in line with the needs of the country it the South. The eight thematic areas, which form the basis of relevance, are developed by Norway based on identified needs of the Southern partners. Furthermore, the relevance of the Master programs per se was evaluated during the application process. Thus indicator sin this case would need to focus on assessing the relevance of the outcomes to the country involved. An interesting aspect of NOMA is the requirement that NOMA scholarship holders need to be employed and obtain study leave form their employers. This could a be a real test, since the employers would only be willing to give the study leave if they feel the program offers their company or institution some extra value once the student returns to work.

Cooperation between the universities can be evaluated on the basis of whether it offers any extra added-value to the Master program, especially South-South cooperation. From an institutional perspective, it can be evaluated on the basis of how effective the model is as opposed to traditional arrangements. Sustainability and anchoring in the South are among the key aims of NOMA. This can be evaluated according to the integration of the program in the institutional structure of the university in the South as regards accreditation, recognition, institutional support and strategic planning. Academic quality is also an important aspect and can be evaluated according to the curriculum, infrastructure, teaching and learning process and staff competence.

Synergy involves collaboration between the NOMA project and other donor funded projects, though the NOMA Program Document limits itself to collaboration with other Norwegian initiatives. This can be assessed through verification of such contacts and how institutionalized the contacts are that is whether they are formal or informal. Gender equality is one of the stated objectives of NOMA. NOMA aims at enhancing gender equality among students and staff. For students, this can be assessed through ratios of applicants and selected students whereas for staff it can be assessed through increases in numbers of female staff either through hiring or even graduates of the course joining the staff. Furthermore evaluation can assess how gender affects completion and later employment. Equitable access involves the objectivity of the admission criteria and this can be assessed through a normative evaluation of the criteria. Furthermore it also encompasses issues of access for disadvantaged groups. This can be evaluated through investigating the background of students and comparisons according to perspectives of rural-urban, male-female, regional and ethnic affiliation.

Social change is the projected final objective of NOMA. Thus, it is quite difficult to measure it in a short timeframe. However, it can be assessed according to how much change the program contributes to in the society according to Norway development priorities which include enfranchising vulnerable groups and reducing poverty. In the short term, indicators such as provision of needed programs, employment of students and increasing access for disadvantaged groups can be used. Cost efficiency can be addressed through comparisons of whether the new model of establishing programs in the South is cheaper than the traditional method of providing fellowships for study in the North. This can be ascertained through comparing budgets in a given time-frame. Furthermore it should be noted that just cheaper is

not necessarily high quality, so the indicators should focus on cheaper and better quality as the issue, not just reduction in costs.

A crucial process in evaluation is deciding who will collect data and what methodology should be sued. It is important that the right people be involved in collecting data. For example, as regards academic quality, it would behoove that academics themselves be involved, preferably in some form of peer-review. Furthermore, the data collectors should be able to judge the veracity of the information collected and should not be subject to manipulation in any way. A major issue in evaluation of donor programs is that the recipients are usually unwilling to report anything negative to the evaluation, since it is seen as jeopardizing the source of funding. Thus, it is important that the data collection address this issue of trust and veracity especially if the threat of punishment due to poor scores is imminent. Another important issue is that the evaluation process should not be open to manipulation. This could be through relying too much on self-assessment or the institutions working hard to achieve a semblance of high performance without actually any realistic results being achieved. However, the NOMA evaluation is professionally organized, with the evaluation being carried out by an independent audit firm, which was chosen for the evaluation through a transparent tendering system. The independence of the process ensures that a worthwhile evaluation of the successes and shortcomings can be conducted, thus enabling the program to further invest in what works and correct what does not work.

4.3 GAPS IN NOMA SUPPORT

4.3.1 Systemic Gaps

Differentiation

Transformation of higher education in Africa will require differentiation with the universities accommodating different functions and roles as society and the economy place demands upon them. Leaving these demands unmet is a damning condemnation of the higher education system. Thus, universities will have to experiment with different models of higher education and institutional organization to solve the myriad needs.

There is a marked lack of support for differentiation and diversity within the higher education systems supported. As its core objective, the NOMA program aims at providing

Master programs to boost capacity building within higher education systems in the South. Thus, by default, it excludes initiatives in other forms of tertiary education such as vocational education and technical training (VET). Admittedly, the NOMA program has a narrow focus and though not necessarily bad, is reflective of the continued neglect of the VET sector by donors.

As expounded upon in the literature review, differentiation within higher education systems is critical to higher education performing its role in development. Increased access to quality VET helps to develop a strong base in science and technology, and also in relieving pressure on universities as the sole legitimate form of higher education, since such sustained pressure leads to decreased quality and equity in access due to strained systems.

The NOMA program however includes a Master program in Vocational Pedagogy, a joint project between Kyambogo University (Uganda), University of the Nile (Southern Sudan) and Akershus University College (Norway). The project is aimed at building up capacity within VET and has at its core an objective to facilitate advanced training for teachers, leaders, planners and researcher in the field of VET thus contributing to the human resource necessary to revitalize VET within the countries involved. Kyambogo University is a university with roots in practical VET and is thus an exception within the program.

Given that there is very little support given to vocational training by most major donors, this is indeed an important are being neglected. The World Bank is the only major donor with significant commitments to VET, and much of the slack is left to private foundations and charities to run in haphazard fashion without much coordination and planning. As much as the societies need higher education at its highest levels, Africa is also in great need of technically-skilled human resource to aid in the push for development of science and technology and improved productivity. Universities, especially in Africa, are ill-placed to deliver this given their disengagement with the labor market.

Research on higher education in Africa

The NOMA program again does not make specific commitments towards funding research on higher education in Africa, given its main focus on developing Master programs rather than research projects. However, among the programs already running, NOMA is funding a Masters program titled Higher Education Masters in Africa, a joint project between the University of Makerere (Uganda), University of Western Cape (South Africa)

and the University of Oslo (Norway). The project is a research-based program that aims at promoting research and studies about higher education in Africa, with a special focus on capacity building efforts in higher education in Africa and how this relates to the role of higher education development. Furthermore, the Masters program is linked to a research advocacy and dissemination group in Africa enabling sharing and use of expert knowledge in the field of higher education. The students in the masters program are expected to conduct research on issues regarding higher education and this hopefully adds to the knowledge base. It is thus evident that NOMA is contributing to developing research on higher education. Furthermore, the Masters program produces professionals versed on various issues regarding higher education and who can contribute effectively to the development of higher education systems across the continent.

Capacity building at national level

The NOMA program lacks any formal engagement with the state at the systemic level. The program is designed to develop collaborative master programs between universities in the North and universities in the South. The program thus contributes to institutional development through provision of academic programs. There is however no provision for a role for the state in the process, and all formal activity is limited to institutions and SIU. However, the course coordinators report that there is positive response from the university as a whole and from the government, to a lesser degree. Among the six respondents who answered the questionnaire, only five courses have had significant dealings with the national government in terms of pursuing accreditation and recognition. In the other cases, accreditation was pursued within the university and the state (Ministry of Education) was not involved. Two course coordinators reported that their respective Ministries of Education had no information whatsoever regarding the NOMA program and complained about being bypassed. This was a general sentiment shared by the three coordinators who were interviewed, and it seems that the Ministries were not involved at all or even informed by the donor nation or the universities, even as a courtesy. In one instance, the commencement of the course was delayed since the Ministry of Education refused to grant accreditation as it had not been informed in advance of preparation for establishing the program. However, the Master in Health Policy and Management reported a positive working relationship with their respective Ministry of Health (in Tanzania) which provided internship opportunities and also allowed its officials to participate in teaching activities.

Strengthening the academic core

Doctoral programs form the core of a research oriented university. Thus, it is logical that promoting research can only be properly done through establishment of vibrant doctoral programs which would focus on conducting both basic and applied research whose results would be disseminated to all appropriate consumers. African universities lag behind all other regions in all research indicators, including research funding, collaboration and publication.

NOMA focuses on Master programs, thus excluding doctoral programs from its development initiative. However, NOMA counts promotion of relevant research as one of its objectives, albeit a minor one compared to developing competencies in the thematic areas. This is apparently because the design of NOMA sees Master degrees as being vital to developing required competencies in the public and private sectors of developing countries. Moreover, within the framework of Norwegian development cooperation policy, other programs such as the Quota program and NUFU provide doctoral programs for students from developing countries. However, these programs are mostly based in Norway and thus still do not serve to develop the academic core at African universities.

4.3.2 Systematic Gaps

Consistency and concentration

The NOMA program is expected to be a long-term program, with extensive planning for future commitments. Furthermore, the program concentrates its funding on a few select programs in a few countries, thus achieving concentration. Academic programs are limited to eight thematic areas which NOMA states are critical areas for the countries involved. NOMA limits eligible countries to its partner countries in development aid, which include Uganda, Tanzania, Malawi, Mozambique and Zambia. A few other countries are involved only insofar as they can contribute certain competencies to the program such as Egypt and South Africa, whereas a few are included due to Norway's interest in rebuilding their societies after years of civil strife such as Angola, Ethiopia and Sudan. However, it is still to be seen if the program will continue support, thus no evidence exists as to the consistency.

Coordination among donors

The White paper No 35 states that Norway will actively pursue coordination of donor activity in developing countries as a means of improving the effectiveness of aid. NOMA has established synergies with other Norwegian programs thus further widening its scope and providing increased support for capacity building. The Norwegian Program for Development Research and Education (NUFU) is also funded by Norway and run by SIU. This provides various opportunities for coordination of capacity building efforts. Both programs are focused on capacity building in higher education and research thus providing further ground for synergies. NUFU is targeted to play a role in providing access to doctoral programs for graduates of NOMA Master Programs. The Quota Scheme, funded by Norway, aims at giving students from developing countries a chance to study at Norwegian universities and it is as a chance for doctoral opportunities for NOMA graduates.

As concerns coordination with other bilateral or multilateral donors, there is no stated objective nor effort to link up and find synergies with any other donor-funded program in capacity building, even given that a number of other donors such as the Netherlands and the United Kingdom are active in similar projects, sometimes even in the same universities in which NOMA is active, as evidenced by a NUFFIC funded project at Makerere University where NOMA is funding various Master programs. However, the Masters Program in Urban Transformation and Sustainable Development reported collaboration between the NOMA program and a SIDA (Swedish International Development Agency) funded doctoral and research program at Makerere University, Ardhi University and University of Addis Ababa. The collaboration was started at institutional level hence did not involve direct coordination between the Norwegian and Swedish donors.

4.4 CHALLENGES

4.4.1 Partnership

Partnership is the key form of cooperation in NOMA, and according to the OECD classification of cross-border education, NOMA falls under the classification of partner-supported delivery. Partnerships are a new model of development cooperation, meant to replace the old imbalanced relationships perpetuated by external aid. Such a design

necessitates close cooperation in all aspects of the program. For a partnership to work, all partners must have a shared perspective towards achieving a common goal. The common goal between HEIs in the North and South under NOMA is to establish collaborative joint Master programs that address the needs of the society. Thus, HEIs in the North and South are together in a partnership to achieve this goal. The partnership between the HEIs in the North and the HEIs in the South is meant to be based on the principle of equality between the partners and characterized by transparency at all levels. Partnership implies that the participants are committed to work together in designing and implementing the program. In the NOMA program it is evident that partnership is at work, given that both the North and South HEIs are closely involved in the development of the projects. A requirement of NOMA in fact is that the program is mutually developed thus ensuring that all parties have a stake in ensuring the success of the program. Having a collaborative perspective in the design and implementation is aimed at imbuing a sense of ownership and thus motivating the stakeholders to struggle for success. Of the six coordinators who responded, four indicated that the programs had been designed jointly by the HEIs in North and South. One program was mostly developed by the HEI in the South, but this was because the program had already been planned for before NOMA funding became available, and substantial input from the Northern partner was included in the final design and in the implementation process. One program was mostly developed by the Northern HEI and the course coordinator attributed this to the technical nature of the program which required competences not available in the Southern HEI.

Partnerships are dynamic projects with a long time frame and based on mutual respect, transparency and accountability. They are expected to draw from the diversity of the consortium to achieve an added-value that would not be available in single institutional projects. The NOMA program document acknowledges this diversity and commits itself to pursue the projects over a long time frame to enable the partners adjust to the model and eventually share the benefits that each brings to the cooperation. NOMA expects to draw form the expertise of Northern HEIs in setting up high quality Master programs and efficient administrative competencies in the Southern HEI. Internationally recognized competences of the Norwegian higher education sector are expected to be used in the design and implementation of NOMA. In turn, the Southern HEIs are expected to contribute a Southern perspective to the project while providing staff and other resources for implementing the

program. The NOMA program aims at achieving transparency and accountability through a system of reporting and oversight that is open to the public,

Anchoring of the NOMA projects in the South is a key part of building effective partnerships through NOMA. The development of competence is expected to take place primarily at the HEIs in the South. Anchoring involves several aspects, such as who awards the degrees, who undertakes the most responsibility in the teaching and learning process, where the majority of modules are taught among other indicators. A deeper discussion of the anchoring process is undertaken in section 4.4.2. Suffice it to say that given the HEIs in the North are acknowledged to be in a better position as regards academic quality and research, sustained input from the North in the teaching process would be detrimental to the partnership as it would merely perpetuate the inequalities of the old models. Boosting participation of the Southern HEIs in the process would thus ensure an equal relationship. Of the six respondents, five indicated that majority of the teaching and learning takes place in the South, with added-value input from the Northern partners in certain modules. One course had majority input from the North but this was attributed to lack of enough competent staff in the Southern HEI to handle all the requirements of the teaching and learning process.

Partnerships aim at building collaborative approaches to priorities and needs to be addressed. However, given that majority of funding and other resources originate from the North in such programs as NOMA, the priorities and evaluation standards mostly comply with the policies, ideology and wishes of the Northern partner. The priorities and ideas originating from the South are usually given only lip service. To ensure relevance of partnerships, the Southern partners should be given a voice in the planning process and allowed to choose legitimate priorities and needs that should be addressed. The needs and priorities of the Southern HEIs involved in NOMA should form the basis of building up collaborative masters programs and other projects. Within NOMA, the institutions in the South were deeply involved in the design and implementation process, thus it is clear their priorities were considered. However, there is a tendency among partners in the South to accept Northern priorities without contest so as to avoid jeopardizing funding opportunities. Thus, even if given a voice, there is risk that the partners may prefer to receive funding and simply follow what the North wants. Though this is not evident in the NOMA program, given that the most of the Southern HEIs had a primary role in developing the projects, it is a risk commonly cited in literature regarding such partnerships. Projects can even be developed simply to capture funding rather than based on what the institutions actually need.

Effective partnerships require that the partners should each have clear role but with shared perspectives and a clear map of where responsibilities rest. This would be supplemented by shared decision-making and mutual governance structure to ensure that all partners have a voice in the running of and strategic planning for the projects. The NOMA application requires that the consortium clearly indicate what role each partner plays in the project and they are evaluated against such a map in the annual reporting procedures. This thus promotes clarity and transparency and helps to avoid conflicts as every partner knows what to do at what time. The NOMA Program Board, which oversees the whole program, is composed of representatives from both the North and South and this ensures mutual governance. Furthermore, NOMA mostly avoids the conditioned aid principle and this gives much freedom to the partners to decide their strategic directions. However, the North has eventual control, given that they control financial resources and given that SIU and or NORAD can override the suggestions or decisions of the program Board if deemed necessary. This somewhat undermines the element of mutual governance which is vital for an effective partnership.

In conclusion, it is evident that ether is a need to form partnerships that are aware of the asymmetric power relations and structural inequalities between donors and recipients despite the underlying principles of equality and shared responsibilities. Donors have a responsibility to reduce these imbalances through inculcation of partnership values in their programs and they should consult widely with other donors to learn from their experiences. Furthermore Southern partners should also actively pursue effective partnerships by pushing their agendas and sharing their perspectives.

4.4.2 Sustainability

Sustainability implies that the programs established under NOMA can continue running after the program period is over. This implies that the requisite competence in academic and administrative matters has been achieved, that infrastructure has been developed to handle the needs of the course, and that the cost of running the program is covered by diversified sources of funding. The White Paper No. 35 sees sustainability as a key goal in any Norwegian development intervention. Sustainability requires a long-term approach, with various sources stating three years as a minimum, but preferably a ten year time-frame for any project to effectively achieve sustainability, deepening on the context.

This is meant to induce a positive and lasting effect and ensure that the gains made do not regress after the donor leaves. Sustainability also implies reduced dependency on the North for funding and other resources such as expatriate skilled manpower.

Anchoring the programs in the South is seen as a key part of ensuring the sustainability and local ownership of the Master programs. Anchoring involves how much of academic and administrative responsibility is located in the South, with emphasis on academic and organizational infrastructure which will ensure the program can continue independent of donor support at some point in the future. Several indicators are used to assess how effective the anchoring process has been. Indicators include; integration of the programs in the governance and institutional framework (priorities and strategy) of the HEI in the South; provision of personnel, infrastructure and other resources by the host university in the South; the degree awarding institution; sharing of teaching and supervision responsibilities between the HEI in the South and the HEI in Norway.

The process of transferring award of degree responsibility to the institutions in the South is proceeding smoothly. Of the 20 Master programs in Africa, 12 have the Master degree awarded by the institution(s) in Africa. Two have a joint degree awarded by both the HEI in the South and the HEI in the North. Six Master programs have the degree awarded by the institution in the North. The coordinators of these programs stated that there are advanced plans to transfer the responsibility for award of the degree to the South institution within the first phase of NOMA. There are varied reasons for the degree being awarded by institution in the North. The degrees involved in the Angolan Norwegian Higher Education Initiative are awarded by the universities in Norway due to the lack of competence in the HEIs in Angola. This is due to the technical nature of the engineering programs involved. The same reason is given for the Masters in Development and Natural Resources and the Masters in Mathematical and Statistical Modeling, Given that a majority of all the degrees are already being awarded by the HEI in the South, this is a commendable feat and portends vigorous effort in anchoring the Master programs in the South.

One of the aspects of anchoring involves transferring as much responsibility for teaching and supervision as possible to the universities in the South, giving consideration to their competence and capacity to handle this. The aim is in the long-term to build up the capacity of the HEIs in the South to handle the workload alone, with only optional added-value input from the North. Of the six course coordinators who responded, five indicated that majority of teaching and supervision duties were handled by the HEI in the South. Two handled all the teaching and supervision by themselves whereas three had shared modules

with the universities in the North which implied a certain amount of student mobility. However, course content and delivery was mainly the responsibility of the universities in the South. One course coordinator reported that the university in the North was responsible for content and delivery to the extent of providing course material and teaching staff. This was due to the lack of sufficient competence in the university in the South to handle the teaching and supervision load. Another issue is availability of competent staff to teach in the program, a problem encountered by the Master of Arts in Political Science and the Masters in Oceanography in Sudan leading to dependence on teaching staff from the North to complement the teaching activities. This further underscores the relevance of such programs as NOMA. In terms of administrative competence, the institutions in the South have a dominant role in the student recruitment process, registration, advertising the program, administrative follow-up, reporting to SIU, student housing and most practical issues. The institutions in the North are involved only in reporting and financial oversight. All six coordinators who responded indicated that the majority of the administrative workload was carried out by the coordinators in the South.

Most host institutions have provided the NOMA master programs with access to basic infrastructure and resources such as libraries, classrooms, teaching and administrative staff. All the coordinators indicated that the universities were very cooperative and enthusiastic about the implementation of the program, with high levels of support. However, given the strained financial nature of most institutions in Africa access to sufficient resources has been a problem. In some technical oriented course such as the Master in Sustainable Energy Systems, the consortiums have had to provide students with resources such as computers.

All NOMA coordinators reported that their programs are, within the context of their HEIs, seen as normal programs integrated into the degree structure. Their students are eligible to apply for doctoral degrees within the universities and others in the country, and likewise, undergraduate students are entitled to apply to the NOMA Master programs, either as NOMA fellows or as self-sponsored students. This thus indicates a high level of integration in terms of accreditation and recognition. This bodes well for the sustainability of the program. Al the six coordinators who responded indicated that the programs were considered to be regular programs at the universities in the South. Moreover, they were within the regular governance structure of the universities. The process of accreditation, which is very important in ensuring integration into the university and eventual sustainability as one of the “normal” course has been a difficult process for some courses. Given the

bureaucratic nature of the accreditation process in some countries, the programs have been delayed, for example the Higher Education Master in Africa at Makerere University had some delay. Some coordinators cited political issues as a reason, given that governments control the higher education system and such donor efforts are at times seen as interference. This was made so by the fact that NOMA bypassed the government and was thus seen as "suspect". The planning of the NOMA program did not take this into account and though it has not been a major problem, it could have turned out differently.

In terms of financing, some programs have already begun diversifying their funding. Two programs report having obtained some limited funding from their host universities. However, NOMA allocations still form the majority of budgets and this is seen as a threat to their sustainability if the NOMA funding is withdrawn.

Recruiting students other than NOMA scholarship holders is a key indicator of the entrenchment of the program in the academic milieu of the host institution. It implies recognition of the program's relevance by prospective students and also its attractiveness. The added-value given to the program by the nature of the organization is important with respect to this. Two Master programs (Master in International Transport and Logistics and the Master in Urban Transformation and Development) have managed to attract students who are not NOMA scholarship holders and the Higher Education Master in Africa indicated plans to open up admission to others. Moreover, the course modules on the Higher Education Master in Africa and the Master in Health and Policy Management programs are also being attended by students other than NOMA scholarship holders and this is an indicator that they have been integrated into the academic milieu. The difficulty in attracting non-NOMA students is attributed to the somewhat prohibitive cost of attending the program, especially if it involves student mobility. In the future, attracting more will depend on the quality and relevance of the Master programs, thus this should be taken into account.

Regional cooperation is also seen as a means of fostering sustainability and ownership of the program in the South. South-South cooperation is beneficial in that it enables sharing of solutions and ideas that work in the context. Thus NOMA encourages cooperation between regional partners and includes countries that have certain competences that would further the capacity building efforts. South-South networking will also foster a sense of scholarship and promote and African knowledge system, key in securing Africa's position in the knowledge society and thus achieve NOMA's aim in fostering long-term engagement with the knowledge society. Out of the 20 programs in Africa, ten are multilateral involving two or more institutions in the South. These programs involve shared

responsibilities in teaching and supervision between the universities in the South and include some component of student mobility. The Master in Urban Development and Urban Challenges in east Africa is an exemplary regional-based master program, with participating institutions across East Africa each contributing its particular competence towards the overall project. The Master is a collaborative program between universities in Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania and Ethiopia.

5. SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

The first objective of this study aimed at identifying the rationale for Norad's introduction of NOMA. The evaluation of NFP and the fact that it did not satisfactorily fulfill the terms of reference for the evaluation led to its phasing out and its replacement with NOMA. Various factors were at play in the introduction of NOMA. The changing development cooperation agenda of Norway had considerable sway over Norad's design and implementation of the program. The need to reflect this changing agenda was paramount in the design. A new understanding of the role of higher education in development, coupled with changing framework conditions such as internationalization, massification and the knowledge society, also prompted an evaluation of traditional approaches. This led to the new innovative approach to North-south collaboration in higher education that NOMA heralds.

The second objective aimed at identifying how NOMA strengthens HEIs to meet the needs of their societies in this era of the knowledge society. Data analysis showed that NOMA offers substantial financial commitments to the initiated Masters programs over a time frame of five years (2006-2010), with an option of renewal of funding over the next phase of the next program. The findings indicated that NOMA's thematic areas represent areas that reflect national needs of the countries involved and that they form a valid basis for providing capacity building in areas of high importance to developing higher education's engagement with society and the economy in the countries involved. The researcher also identified that NOMA help is spread across the board and covers most components of the categories of higher education priority areas that were identified in the literature review as key to strengthening HEIs to meet society's needs. The researcher also indentified several options as regards measurement of NOMA's effect in the societies involved.

The third objective aimed to identify gaps that were evident in the design and implementation of NOMA. The research findings indicated that there is little support for differentiation within higher education systems, a key reform in enabling higher education

systems to provide necessary human capital for societies. However, NOMA does provide help towards research and studies on higher education in Africa and thus addresses a gap evident in most donor interventions in higher education. NOMA is seen as ignoring capacity building at the national level, since it concentrates exclusively on the institutional level. This is unfortunate since the national level, which steers the system, is left with weak capacity and mostly undermines developments at the institutional level due to incompetence. Lastly, NOMA does explicitly seek out collaboration with other donors involved in capacity building or higher education, yet even Norwegian development policy calls for synergy with other donors so as to pool resources and achieve maximal effect and Norway is a signatory to the Paris Declaration which calls for increased coordination among donors. However, ether is limited synergy with other Norwegian sponsored programs such as NUFU and Quota.

The fourth objective aimed at identifying the challenges that NOMA faces in its implementation. From the literature review, it was evident that the major challenges faced by targeted donor intervention were the issues of partnership in development cooperation and sustainability of donor efforts at capacity building. Data analysis showed that NOMA performs reasonably well in ensuring the sustainability of the program through efforts to anchor the programs at institutions in the South and giving a greater role in coordination and implementation to the partners in the South. As regards the partnership, it is evident that the program gives the partners in the South a greater role in the program. The partners in the South were mostly the initiators of the programs and have a greater role in decision-making and planning. However, given that the North still controls the funding, a lot of power still rests with the North in terms of financial oversight, which is a key aspect of control and power, and thus still leaves the Southern institutions on an unequal footing with the North.

5.2 CONCLUSIONS

This study investigated the role of donors in strengthening HEIs in the South to tackle development challenges and other needs of their societies. It was intended to identify the role that higher education can play in development and how donors can assist in achieving this role through targeted interventions. This was in relation to the opinion that traditional aid to developing countries is generally not effective in achieving objectives. However, the NOMA program is a new model for development cooperation and thus is considered to have avoided

the weaknesses of the old models. In view of the summary of the findings above, it is clear that the new model of cooperation as exemplified by NOMA can play an important role in strengthening higher education institutions in the South. Thus the researcher concludes that NOMA is a viable and effective program that contributes effectively to capacity building in higher education in the South. However, the program needs to take into account the gaps and challenges that threaten to derail its efforts. Furthermore, NOMA does not provide any explicit support for access to knowledge resource, one of the main problems for African HEIs and scholars. African society has for long been plagued by an inability to design and deliver viable policies and donor interventions promise to change this, but only if they are properly designed and implemented with the cooperation of stakeholders in the South.

5.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

Deriving from the summary of findings and the conclusion, this study would offer the following recommendations to all stakeholders in donor interventions in higher education in Africa;

Donors should make targeted efforts to improve Africa's higher education systems especially in science and technology, thus enabling African societies to produce highly skilled human capacity that would contribute towards solving national and regional challenges and integrating Africa into the knowledge economy. Building capacity requires substantial financial commitments and a long term orientation thus donors should be willing to invest such commitments.

Donors should avoid conditioned aid and should instead support legitimate national needs of African countries rather than allowing their own interests to undermine capacity building efforts. On the other hand, stakeholders in the South should adopt a proactive role and take the lead in identifying legitimate priorities to be supported. Furthermore, they should be accountable in their dealings with the donors to develop enhanced partnerships. Developing countries and HEIs in the South need to take responsibility for such interventions as aid can only be effective if the recipients prioritize their needs and have the capacity to absorb the aid

Donors should engage more actively with governments rather than bypassing them as is evident in NOMA. Given that governments are in charge of steering higher education systems, donors should aim at building capacity also at the national level rather than only at

institutional level. Weak capacity at national level means the steering agency has no competence at steering and thus ends up undermining efforts at strengthening institutions.

Donors should coordinate their efforts at capacity building since if each individual donor is pursuing their own interests, they end up duplicating efforts and wasting resources. Pooling resources is a great way to achieve consistency and concentration in capacity building and thus covering more ground.

HEIs in the South should seek to be actively engaged with society and focus their efforts at meeting the needs of the labor market and the economy. This would ensure that donor efforts at capacity building, driven by priorities set by the HEIs, will have a greater impact on their societies.

Recommendations for further research would involve research regarding effect measurement as the researcher was unable to extensively pursue that thread due to the fact that NOMA has been in operation for a relatively short time and evaluative studies would not reveal much yet. Measuring the effect of donor interventions is however important in informing future commitments thus valid indicators of success need to be developed. Further empirical research would inform such processes and contribute insights as to what indicators are valid.

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7. APPENDICES

7.1 DOCUMENT REVIEW LIST

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7.2 DOCUMENT REVIEW GUIDE

Documentary Review Guide

UNIVERSITY OF OSLO-NORWAY
FACULTY OF EDUCATION
INSTITUTE FOR EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH

1. Who initiated the NOMA program?

2. Who was involved in the design of the program?

3. Were any stakeholders from the South involved? Which stakeholders?

4. What were the motivations for starting the NOMA program?

5. Does the NOMA program focus solely on capacity building as an end or as a means to an end? What end, if so?

6. What does NOMA consider to be critical in strengthening institutions in the South?

7. What is to be the role of higher education in development?

8. Given the inherent paternalistic nature of any donor-beneficiary relationship, how does the NOMA program try to establish a genuine and equal partnership with the institutions in the South?

9. What are the strengths and weaknesses of the NOMA program?

7.3 COURSE COORDINATORS QUESTIONNAIRE

Course Coordinators Questionnaire
UNIVERSITY OF OSLO-NORWAY
FACULTY OF EDUCATION
INSTITUTE OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH

This questionnaire aims at seeking the information from course coordinators of the NOMA Masters programs located in sub-Saharan Africa. The aim of the study is to appraise North – South cooperation in higher education and how this strengthens higher education institutions in the South to deal with national development challenges.
Please refer to the study consent form for details regarding confidentiality of the data obtained in the questionnaire.
Please return to *jceshuch@student.uv.uio.no* or *jayc8301@yahoo.com*

A. Course details

1. Which NOMA Master program are you the coordinator of?

2. Who are your NOMA consortium partners and where are they located?

3. In which of the eight thematic areas of the NOMA does your Master program fall in?

4. Who initiated and designed the Master program?

B. Regional (South-South) cooperation

5. Does your NOMA Master program have any formal links to an academic institution in Africa? If so, which?

6. Do you have any exchange or study abroad programs within Africa for students on your NOMA Master program?

7. Do you have any common regional (within Africa) research goals or strategy within or without the NOMA consortium? If so, how is it manifested?

C. Course anchoring in the South

8. Is your NOMA Master program formally recognized and or accredited by the national accrediting agency? If not, why?

9. Does the NOMA Master program have the same status as other programs in the university?

10. Do you recruit students other than NOMA scholarship students?

11. Do students from other programs attend some of the modules in your NOMA Master program?

12. What resources have been made available by your university for the implementation of the NOMA Master program?

13. In your opinion, how cooperative has the university been in the whole implementation process?

14. Does the NOMA Master Program fall under the overall governance structure of the university?

15. In your opinion, how firmly is the NOMA Masters program integrated in your institution?

D. Gender mainstreaming

16. How many student applicants for the NOMA Master program did you have in the first year of your Master program?

GENDER	Number of applicants
Male	
Female	
TOTAL	

17. How many students did you admit into the NOMA Master program?

GENDER	Number of students
Male	
Female	
TOTAL	

18. Were the female applicants' qualifications assessed at the same standard as the male? If no, please explain briefly.

19. How many staff do you have?

STAFF	Male	Female
Academic		
Administrative		
TOTAL		

20. Do you have any modules focusing on gender and gender-related issues within your NOMA Master Program content? If yes, which module(s)?

21. How would you rate your NOMA Master program's success at mainstreaming the gender perspective into the program with regards to the given areas?

	Very successful	Somewhat successful	Unsuccessful
Students			
Staff			
Course content			

E. Ownership of the Master program

22. Who awards the degree for the NOMA Master program?

Norwegian HEI	
Joint degree	
African HEI	

23. Which institution in the consortium has overall responsibility for course content and delivery and evaluation?

24. In which university are majority of the modules in the program taught?

25. Do you consider your partnership with the Norwegian HEI an equal or unequal relationship? Why?

26. Who has oversight over financial management within the consortium? Please explain briefly.

E. Implementation and challenges

27. Have you experienced any major deviations from the implementation plan so far? Which deviations?

28. If so, what contributed towards the deviations?

29. What synergies do you have (individually or through NOMA) between your NOMA program and other donor initiatives in African higher education?

30. What synergies do you have between your NOMA Master program and your national or local government in terms of financing, legislation and or governance?

7.4 INTERVIEW GUIDE (COURSE COORDINATORS)

Interview Guide

UNIVERSITY OF OSLO-NORWAY

FACULTY OF EDUCATION

INSTITUTE FOR EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH

1. Researcher introduces himself and research topic.

2. Please describe your association to the NOMA program.

3. Who initiated your NOMA program?

4. Who was involved in the design of the program?

5. What strategies and plans do you have for anchoring the program in the Southern HEIs?

6. What does NOMA consider to be critical in strengthening institutions in the South?

7. Given the inherent paternalistic nature of any donor-beneficiary relationship, how does the NOMA program try to establish a genuine and equal partnership with the institutions in the South?

8. What do you consider to be the strengths and weaknesses of the NOMA program?

9. What problems have you faced during the implementation process? And how have you overcome them?

7.5 INTERVIEW GUIDE (NORAD)

Interview Guide
UNIVERSITY OF OSLO-NORWAY
FACULTY OF EDUCATION
INSTITUTE FOR EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH

The main questions that this interview will try to answer is what was the rationale for Norad's switch from the NFP program to the NOMA program? Why is NOMA seen as a better alternative to NFP?

1. What does Norad consider to be critical in strengthening HEIs in the South?

2. Who was involved in the design of the NOMA program?

3. How was the relevance of the NOMA program to the involved developing countries determined?

4. What reasons prompted the change from NFP to Norad?

5. What weaknesses were seen inherent in NFP and how does NOMA rectify them?

6. In what ways is NOMA expected to be more successful than NFP?

7. What do you consider to be the weaknesses of the NOMA program?

8. Does outsourcing of the program administration to SIU have any impact on Norad's control over the implementation and also over the final outcomes?

9. Which strategies has Norad put in place to facilitate evaluation and effect measurement?

7.6 STUDY CONSENT FORM

UNIVERSITY OF OSLO

FACULTY OF EDUCATION

INSTITUTE FOR EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH

You are being asked to consent for your participation into a study that purposes to explore how North-South cooperation in higher education strengthens higher education institutions in the South to tackle national development challenges, taking the NOMA program as a case study. You are hereby requested to participate in this study because the researcher considers you to be an important source person in terms of provision of data and perspectives on the main issue being studied.

Study procedures

This study encompasses four in-depth interviews and twenty questionnaires. Three in-depth interviews will be with course coordinators involved in running the NOMA Master programs whereas one will be with a source person from Norad. Questionnaire will be used to collect data from course coordinators involved in implementation of the NOMA program. Document review will help collect data about design and implementation of the NOMA .

Confidentiality

The information gathered will be treated with all the confidentiality it deserves. The information will only be accessed by the researcher or a member of his academic supervisory team. The information will in no way be linked to you by name but rather by identification sign and your name will not be mentioned in the final report.

Participation

Participation into the study is voluntary and does not attract any direct financial benefits. You have the right to decline participation or withdraw from the study at any point of the process. Moreover, you do not have to enumerate your reasons for quitting.

If you agree to participate into the study, please, give your signature hereunder.

_____ _____

Signature of the respondent **Date**

_____ _____

Signature of the researcher **Date**

7.7 CLEARANCE LETTER (UNIVERSITY OF OSLO)

UNIVERSITETET I OSLO
DET UTDANNINGSVITENSKAPELIGE FAKULTET

Institute for Educational Research
P.O. Box 1092 Blindern
N-0317 Oslo

Date: 2009-05-03
Your ref.:
Our ref.:

Visiting address:
Sem Sælandsvei 7, Helga Eng`s Building, 5nd floor
Telephone: +47 22 84 44 75
Fax: +47 22 85 42 50
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ASSISTANCE IN THE CONDUCTION OF DATA COLLECTION

To whom it may concern,

This is to confirm that the Kenyan student Joshua Caleb Amunga Eshuchi, born 26.05.1983, is a second year student in the Master programme in Higher Education at the Institute for Educational Research at the University of Oslo, Norway.

In the second year our students are required to write a Master thesis of 50 to 80 pages. The data collection involved in the thesis process may incorporate interviews with educational practitioners and decision-makers, class-room observation and documentary analysis. The type of data gathered should of course be discussed with the relevant authorities. It is our hope that the work produced by the student will not only benefit him in his academic career but also be of use to the future of his home country.

We kindly ask you to provide Mr. Eshuchi all possible assistance with his data collection.

Yours sincerely,

Sanja Mursu
Senior Executive Officer